S. Gerson

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X APRIL, 1931 No. 4

FROM THE CONTENTS

In the Footsteps of Lenin
(Pravda, January 21, 1931)

How We Must Fight Against the Demagogy of the Fascists and Social-Fascists . . *Earl Browder*

Mr. Fish Endorses the Socialist Party . *I. Amter*

A Review of the Political Scene on the Parliamentary Stage . . . *Harrison George*

Overcome Looseness in Our Mass Work
Jack Johnstone

The Crisis of the Jim-Crow Nationalism of the Negro Bourgeoisie . . . *Harry Haywood*

Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship
Theses of Comrade Lenin Adopted by the First Congress of the Communist International, March, 1919.

Book Reviews

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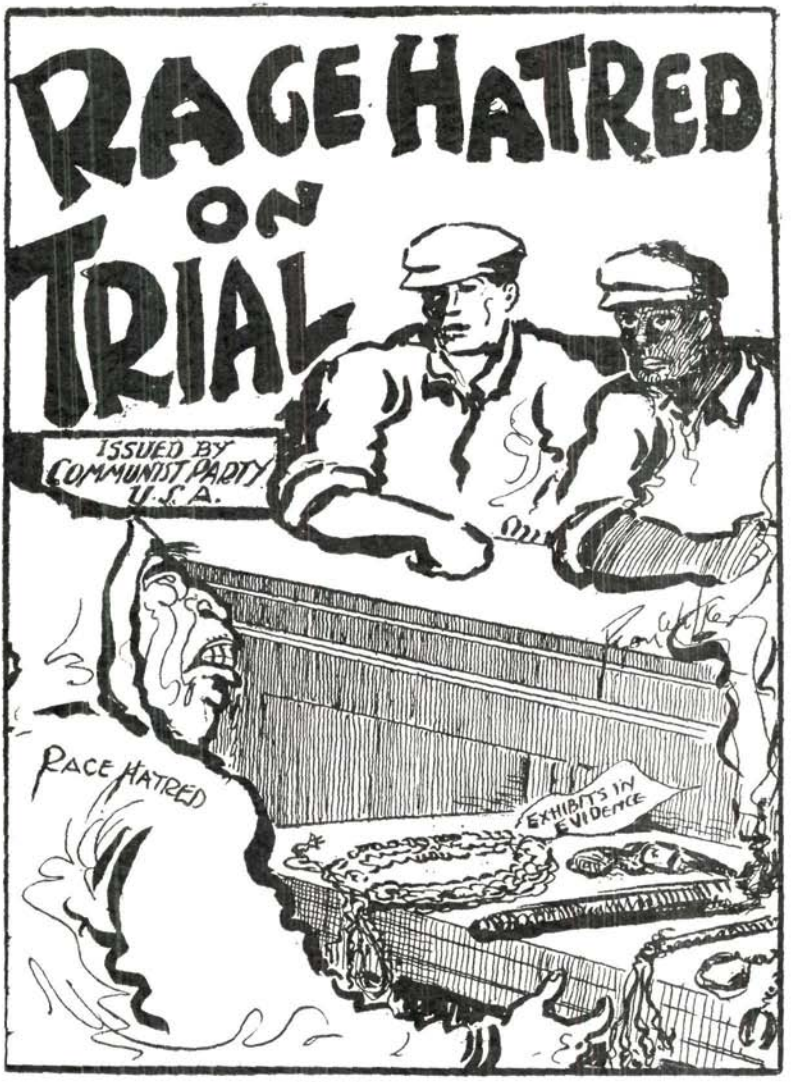

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VOL. X APRIL, 1931 No. 4

CONTENTS

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF LENIN 291

HOW WE MUST FIGHT AGAINST THE DEMAGOGY OF FASCISTS AND SOCIAL-FASCISTS 300
By EARL BROWDER

MR. FISH ENDORSES THE SOCIALIST PARTY 305
By I. AMTER

A REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SCENE ON THE PARLIAMENTARY STAGE 314
By HARRISON GEORGE

OVERCOME LOOSENESS IN OUR MASS WORK 324
By JACK JOHNSTONE

THE CRISIS OF THE JIM-CROW NATIONALISM OF THE NEGRO BOURGEOISIE 330
By HARRY HAYWOOD

HOW WE BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OPPOSITION IN GERMANY 339
By F. EMMERICH

THE ROLE OF THE RED ARMY IN CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION 348

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP 360
Theses of COMRADE LENIN *adopted by the First Congress of the Communist International, March,* 1919.

TWO LETTERS ON THE PARIS COMMUNE 371
By KARL MARX

OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION .. 373
LESSON TWO

BOOK REVIEWS 381

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THE COMMUNIST is the official theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Although being a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, it does not indulge in theoretical abstractions. Its purpose is to bring the attention of the Party members, and that part of the revolutionary movement that consciously follows the program of the Communist Party, the struggles waged by the American workers, and the workers the world over as analyzed from a deeper political angle than is possible thru the columns of its daily organ, the DAILY WORKER.

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In the Footsteps of Lenin

(*Pravda, January* 21, 1931)

> "We need new parties, other parties. We need parties which are in close and constant touch with the masses, parties which are capable of leading these masses."

THIS was the profound historical prediction of Lenin at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, when he spoke in favor of the 21 conditions for admission into the Communist International. At that time the Communist International was only in process of formation. The Communist Parties were, in reality, nothing more than propaganda organizations. They had not yet become Bolshevik organizations. More than a year later Lenin wrote in his well-known *Letter to the German Communists*:

> "In most countries our parties are still far from being what real Communist parties should be, the real advance guard of the truly and only revolutionary class, parties in which every single member takes a part in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."

In order that these parties should become *real* Communist Parties, it is necessary that they should get rid of all extraneous, petty-bourgeois, vacillating, and opportunist elements. It is necessary that they should find direct paths of approach to the proletarian masses, in order that when the movement of the masses grows they shall be able to organize it and to place themselves at its head. This is the fundamental prerequisite for the *winning over of the majority of the working class.*

A year of world economic crisis and the development of the crisis in a number of countries into a political crisis have brought about a great change in the situation in the capitalist world. The "Third Period," the period of the collapse of capitalist stabilization and the development of a new revolutionary wave, has entered into a new phase.

After the series of mass economic struggles at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929, and after the May barricade fighting in Berlin, the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. substantiated the fact that a new upsurge of the revolutionary working class movement had developed. The world economic crisis, which broke out at the end of 1929, for a time checked to a certain extent the development of this process. The opportunists and renegades,

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the Brandlerites and Trotskyists, having denied *in toto* the existence of the Third Period, and having seen in these mass actions of the proletariat *only rearward* skirmishes, only the echo of great revolutionary struggles which had already taken place, with malicious joy cast slanderous remarks about the "defeatist" and "adventurist" policy of the leadership of the Communist International. But the Leninist Comintern, guided by a Marxist-Leninist analysis, was able to perceive in the historic perspective that which was hidden behind seven seals from the eyes of the social-fascist lackeys. At the present stage of the crisis the activity of the proletariat is reviving and expanding (though by no means identically and to an equal extent in all capitalist countries), and the process of re-enactment of the mass struggles of the beginning of the Third Period is taking *on a higher level.* This means that for Communist Parties decisive significance is attached to the question as to which are the most important tactics which they should adopt at the given historical stage, in order to *establish close contact* with the decisive ranks of the masses and *to stand at their head.*

Only a precise determination of the character of the present development of the economic crisis and of the character of its transformation into a political crisis will render it possible to make a correct choice as to which tactics are the most important. To speak seriously about elements of a political crisis increasing in number is possible as yet only in regard to two capitalist countries —Germany and Poland. It is also true that there are already certain elements of a political crisis in Great Britain, where the economic crisis broke out much later than in Germany but, on the other hand, is developing at a much more rapid tempo. There are first omens of a coming political crisis in France, where Tardieu's policy of "prosperity" has suffered an ignominious collapse. But in France the possibilities for maneuvering on the part of the bourgeoisie are much greater than in Great Britain. And in the United States of America they are greater still.

This is why—if underestimation of the growing of the economic into a political crisis and the *denial* of this transformation, for example, in Germany, constituted a great opportunistic danger —on the other hand, a mechanical translation of this process of transformation to all countries, the picturing of a political crisis taking form solely on the basis of one or another curtailment of this or that form of democracy, would be a similar opportunistic danger, hiding behind the mask of "leftist" phrases and acting itself as a mask for outright parliamentary cretinism.

The most important, the most basic phenomenon in the present period (and especially in countries where the transformation of the

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economic crisis into a political crisis has proceeded furthest) is the frenzied, widespread, and ever-growing attack of capital on the standard of living of the proletariat. And there is no doubt that the most important, it might even be said the all-embracing, task of the Communist vanguard is, in the circumstances, *to organize a struggle against this attack.* Only the organization of such a struggle will make it possible to hasten to the utmost the process of winning over the majority of the working class.

When the year 1931 opened, there were developing, after a year of comparative calm, gigantic economic struggles. While the Third Period began with mass economic struggles (the lockout in the Ruhr, the general strike in Lodz, the general strike of the textile workers in Northern France) in which there were revealed tendencies toward a counter-attack on the part of the proletariat, and while the beginning of the world economic crisis made the workers hold back more or less from economic struggles, on account of the wholesale layoffs and the first shock of the capitalist offensive against the working class, the present economic struggles are a direct contest for the initiative between attacking capitalism and the proletariat which is rallying for an active counter-attack.

A clear example of such a struggle is the strike of the Ruhr miners. In this instance the working class, under the exclusive leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition, assumed the offensive for the first time in six or seven years by calling the strike before the date set by the employers for declaring a lockout. It is only necessary to enumerate those economic conflicts which are now taking place and which tomorrow will turn into open struggle, in order to be convinced of the sweep of the developing movement, to be convinced of the actual re-enactment, on a higher level, of the mass economic struggles of the beginning of the Third Period. In Germany during the next two months wage agreements affecting 3,500,000 workers will expire. All the workers in the metallurgical industry in the Lower Rhineland, 200,000 metal workers in Saxony, and 500,000 textile workers are face to face with strike struggles. Part of these workers have already gone on strike. Lay-offs threaten 150,000 railwaymen. Wage agreements affecting 350,000 chemical workers are about to expire. And, finally, there is the struggle of the miners in the Ruhr and in Upper Silesia which is by no means at an end.

Let us turn to Great Britain: 150,000 miners in South Wales are conducting a stubborn strike struggle. A section of the textile workers in Lancashire is already on strike. Altogether there are 250,000 textile workers locked out in Great Britain. The railway

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companies are demanding such drastic wage cuts that a sharp economic conflict must inevitably develop.

In Czechoslovakia great economic struggles in the metallurgical and coal mining industries are approaching. The same is true of Poland, in the Dombrova Basin, and in Upper Silesia.

The special characteristic of this new stage, of this upsurge of activity on the part of the working class, is the ever more complete union of the two streams of the movement, that of the *employed* and that of the *unemployed workers*. This fact has, up to the present, received too little consideration by the Communist Parties. However, it is one of the most important developments in the class struggle at the present historical stage. It is not a matter merely of drawing the unemployed into economic struggles, but of uprooting one of the principal pillars of social democracy, *i. e.*, the snobbish disdain felt by the organized, skilled, reformist worker for the unemployed "*lumpen*" proletariat. This complete (in an historical sense) union of the two streams of the working class movement is a consequence of the crisis. The economic crisis undermined the basis of a considerable portion of the organized skilled workers, who have thus lost the stability of their position.

It is an entirely new phenomenon that in times of economic struggles the unemployed workers fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers on strike. It is an indisputable historical fact that in Germany there were no unemployed acting as strikebreakers in the recent important economic struggles. However, it must be noted that the situation is far less favorable with regard to the mobilization of the employed workers for a struggle *on behalf of the demands of the unemployed*. Last year the March Sixth (International Unemployment Day) campaign showed this very clearly. It must be stated that the Communist Parties are far from having clearly grasped the significance of this problem and the necessity of *broadening the united front from below*.

The very conduct of a strike in the present period bears a *qualitatively* different character from that in the previous period. The active participation of the unemployed, the wives of the workers, the active sympathy of the petty-bourgeois elements in town and country (the shopkeepers, tradesmen, poor peasants) gives the strike struggle in the present period—as, for instance, in the strike of the 140,000 metal workers in Berlin—the character of a "*general people's movement* which transmits to the proletariat the whole force of its indignation against the regime." (Lenin.)

Therefore, the problem of the *political mass strike stands forth as the central tactical link*, which according to Lenin, is simultaneously the *expression of and the condition for* the development

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of the proletarian struggle into a *"general people's movement."* In July, 1929, the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. advocated the political mass strike as the most important tactical problem of the Third Period. Opportunists and renegades here, too, did not fail to come forth with criticism of the "adventurist" tactics of the Comintern. These attacks of the opportunists became particularly virulent during the course of the period just concluded, in connection with the absence of important political mass strikes. The Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. took place directly after the first concrete putting of the question of the political mass strike in Germany at the time of the May conflicts in 1929. And here, too, as in purely economic struggles, the crisis checked to a certain extent the development of the process. At the present time, under conditions of a transformation of the economic into a political crisis, particularly in those countries where there are already present important elements of a political crisis, the question of a political mass strike must occupy the center of attention of the Communist Parties—constituting, as it does, the most important tactical link.

An abstract and purely schematic portrayal of the process of development of the mass strike would be very dangerous. The denial of the fact that an economic crisis is developing into a political crisis inevitably leads to a failure to understand the place of the political mass strike in the class struggle at the present stage. On the other hand, an over-estimation of the rate of development often subjects the Communist Parties to another danger, namely, that of regarding the political mass strike as the *only or chief* form of the class struggle *at all times*. Such errors have already been made in a number of Communist Parties. The danger from this error lies in the fact that it results in ignoring, on one hand, the significance of the armed uprising, which is the final and decidedly most important stage of the revolutionary class struggle, and, on the other hand, the significance of mass economic struggles as the initial stage in the development of the political mass strike itself. These are the errors pointed out by Lenin in his struggle against the Mensheviks and also in his polemic against Rosa Luxemburg.

From all this can be seen what place partial demands must take in the present stage of the class struggle. The role of these partial demands differs of course, according to the development of the crisis in the various countries. The struggle for partial demands is the most important tactical link only in those countries in which the economic crisis has not yet developed into a political crisis. The experiences of the past two years have shown that, despite the rapid radicalization of the masses everywhere, a number of the

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Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries have not yet succeeded in their practical work in changing their course decidedly towards the masses. In Great Britain, for instance, the Communist Party had not succeeded by the middle of 1930 in coming out of its isolation, despite the political progress made by the Party since its last congress in Leeds in December, 1929, which for the first time seriously directed its efforts toward actually carrying out the policy of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (the tactics of "class against class"). This was shown in particular by the economic struggles of last year (Bradford). It was also shown by the continuous fall in the membership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in Great Britain. It was in order to alter this situation that the C. P. G. B., in the second half of 1930, opened the campaign for the Workers' Charter—five or six slogans concerning wages, unemployment, the anti-trade union act, housing, working hours, and aid to the Indian revolution. These are slogans best qualified to mobilize the masses disillusioned by the policy of the Labor government. This campaign has already brought the British Communist Party a number of positive successes with regard to the change of course towards the masses. The Party succeeded in improving the bad situation with regard to the trade union work, in forming special committees of action for the Workers' Charter, and in collecting a considerable (although by no means a sufficient) number of signatures of workers in favor of the "Charter."

The day-to-day work of the C. P. U. S. A. still bears a purely propaganda character. The Party has as yet come out before the masses only with *general* slogans, failing to concentrate attention on the *immediate*, every-day demands of the masses. The trade unions have, in fact, only *duplicated the Party*. The result of all this has been a considerable *weakening of the Party's contact with the masses, passivity, and lagging behind* the general mass movement, and a consequent *strengthening of opportunistic tendencies, especially the Right Danger, in the various sections of the Party.*

Up to the middle of 1930 the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was also of a propagandist character. The Party which had experienced a crisis at the time of the Hais *putsch* in the Red trade unions and the struggle against the Right Wing renegades under Jilek, was unable, although it emerged quickly and successfully from the crisis, to establish as quickly its former quite extensive contacts with the masses on a new Bolshevik basis. As a result of a number of sectarian slogans, such as, a refusal "on principle" to adopt the Ghent system [unemployment insurance

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paid by the trade unions out of their own funds with some assistance from the city], and the ignoring of the skilled workers as thoroughly reactionary elements, the Party was even threatened with being actually cut off from the masses. Under the leadership of the C. I. the party, in the second half of 1930, took up in a decided manner the struggle for partial demands. The party is already able to register some progress in this work, as evidenced, for instance, in the numerous shop council elections held recently, in the unprecedented vigor of the movement of the unemployed organized and led by the party, and in the great victory recently won by the party in the election of officials of the Workers' Cooperative in Prague.

However, the struggle for partial demands has entailed *another serious danger.* The revolutionary character of the partial demands lies in the fact that through the struggle for these demands the class activity of the masses is *raised to higher forms* of struggle and the working masses are freed from a series of reformist illusions and from the reformist hangers-on. In his well-known article, entitled *The English Ten-Hour-Day Bill,* Engels wrote:

> "This bill not only satisfied the basic physical needs of the workers, and to a certain extent protected their health against the merciless exploitation of the factory owners, but also freed them from the company of sentimental dreamers and from solidarity with all the reactionary classes in England."

Lenin stressed frequently and systematically the universality of the struggle for partial demands, and the necessity for closely linking up this struggle with the struggle for the main revolutionary demands and slogans. (*Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, The Economic and the Political Strike,* etc.)

> "It is impermissible either to neglect the daily needs and daily struggles of the workers or to limit the activity of the party to these alone. It is the task of the party, starting with these daily needs, to lead the working class toward the revolutionary struggle for power." (*Program of the Communist International.*)

In the struggle for the Workers' Charter in Great Britain a tendency made itself felt to separate this struggle artificially from the general revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party and even (what is particularly important at the present moment) from the economic struggles of the British proletariat. For instance, in October, 1930, the Workers' Charter conference, although it took place in South Wales at a time when a great and acute economic conflict was developing there, completely ignored this question, as though the movement for the Workers' Charter was some-

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thing quite isolated from the general struggle of the British proletariat.

The same thing occurred in Czechoslovakia, where a number of petty, isolated, partial demands were endowed with supreme importance and entirely cut off from the main revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party.

Finally, in a number of parties there has developed a tendency to hold up the partial demands to the masses as slogans, the realization of which would grant the proletariat an escape from poverty.

Under the leadership of the Communist International the Communist parties in their forward march are correcting these mistakes and are continuing with still greater energy and determination, on the basis of correctly formulated partial demands, to turn toward the masses.

All these factors put the problem of the methods and forms of the organization of the united front from below in a new light. All the tactical links mentioned serve this main aim, the embracing of the broad masses of the workers from below as the immediate preliminary to the winning over of the majority of the working class. The objective conditions for this are present. We have a symptomatic phenomenon of great historical importance taking place within German social-fascism: the elemental revolt of the working class youth and in part even of the adult workers constituting the rank and file of the German Social-Democratic Party, a revolt which reflects the eagerness on the part of the working masses for an active revolutionary struggle against fascism. It was not without reason that Otto Wels was compelled to declare that it would be better to expel 3,000 members from the Social-Democratic Party now than 30,000 in the near future. Such phenomena are occurring not only in the German Social-Democracy, although elsewhere their form is not so clearly defined. In Czechoslovakia a workers' demonstration organized by the Czech National Socialists against the Soviet Union was converted, unexpectedly for its organizers, into a mighty demonstration for the defense of the Soviet Union. Even in Great Britain the Communist Party is succeeding in establishing new contacts with the youth guild of the Independent Labor Party.

In these circumstances the Communist Parties must rid themselves of all remnants of a scornful attitude toward Social-Democratic workers as "little Zoergiebels" (such cases occurred even during the recent strike of the Berlin metal workers). Still further, the Communist Parties must make energetic efforts to win over even the religious and fascist workers. The workers who support the fascists have been blinded by the social demagogy of the latter

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and have not yet succeeded in finding their way to the Communist advance guard of the working class. The Communist Parties must themselves find their way to these workers.

In this respect the Communist Party of Germany gave a good example of correct united-front tactics at the time of its recent demonstration (January 7) in connection with the burial of two workers murdered by the fascists in Berlin. The Social-Democrats had announced a "peaceful" funeral procession, without formal columns hindering traffic. The Communist Party succeeded in giving the procession a revolutionary character and clearly demonstrating to the Berlin proletariat that the Communist Party alone is the organizer of a real struggle against fascism. In the struggle for the streets, this action constituted an even more important success, in view of the fact that a few weeks previously the fascists had succeeded in taking command of the streets for a while, when they demonstrated against the film "All Quiet on the Western Front."

These are the most important tactical problems of the Communist Parties in the present historical stage. The task of the change from propaganda to organization, which was laid down by the Tenth Plenum and the February presidium of the E. C. C. I. and mentioned also in the report of the delegation of the C. P. of the Soviet Union to the Sixteenth Party Congress, has entered into a new stage. The transition to a higher stage of the class struggle of the proletariat and the extreme intensification of class contradictions in the whole capitalist world, dictate not only propaganda, but also a most rapid carrying out of this transition.

"In order to support and extend the movement of the masses," wrote Lenin in his article, *The Revolutionary Upsurge*, published at the beginning of the new revolutionary wave in Russia in 1912, "*organization* and again *organization* is necessary. In our work to support and extend the action of the masses we must seriously take stock of the experience of 1905 and, explaining the necessity and inevitability of an uprising, must warn and hold back the masses from premature attempts of this kind. The growth of mass strikes, the drawing of other classes into the struggle, the condition of the party units, the mood of the masses—all these things will indicate the moment when all forces will have to be united in a determined offensive and a recklessly bold attack of the revolution upon the Tsarist monarchy."

Under these slogans of Lenin, and along the path indicated by him for the building up and the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties, the Communist International is preparing the world proletariat for the final decisive conflict.

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How We Must Fight against the Demagogy of Fascists and Social-Fascists

By EARL BROWDER

DEMAGOGY, on an unprecedented scale, is today the principal weapon of the capitalist class to hold back the rising wave of discontent of the million masses of workers, just as police clubs and gas-bombs are the principal weapons against the vanguard of the workers who already are mobilized on the streets for struggle. Demagogy and police-clubs are twin weapons, used inter-changeably and simultaneously, to demoralize and break down the demands of the workers for relief from the terrible burdens of the crisis. The working class, and its vanguard the Communist Party, have made less progress in fighting demagogy than in fighting the police terror. Therefore this question must be the object of our special study. Where are our greatest weaknesses in fighting the demagogy of the capitalist class and its agents?

SOCIAL-FASCIST DEMAGOGY MOST DANGEROUS

The demagogy of Republican and Democratic politicians, while the main enemy in this field in point of volume and material backing (press, organization, etc.), is not the most difficult to expose and overcome politically among the more advanced workers. Hoover's demagogy, for example, about "no wage cuts," has already exposed itself so effectively that it is the butt of rude jokes even by the capitalist press. But it is the demagogy of the social-fascists, the Socialist Party and its groups and grouplets, some elements in the American Federation of Labor, and the groups of renegades from the Communist movement (Trotskyites and Lovestoneites), which is politically most dangerous because it is most deceptively masked, most liable to mislead and confuse the vanguard itself. Therefore it is the social-fascists (especially the "left" variety) which constitute the main enemy in the struggle against demagogy.

The crisis of capitalism forces the masses to look for a solution, for some way out of the crisis. It is clear that a new path must be found. In the search for the path, the workers are forced to choose between that leading to fascism, the path of restoration of capitalism at the expense of the workers, and on the other hand the path

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leading to proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism by the working class and the establishment of a new order of society. It is the role of the social-fascists to lead the revolting workers onto the path of fascism under the illusion that they are travelling toward socialism. This is the greatest danger to the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. That is why we must concentrate upon the exposure of the social-fascists, and the burning out of all traces of their influence within the ranks of the Communist Party.

HOOVER'S STAGGER SYSTEM AND THE SOCIAL-FASCISTS

For purposes of brevity and concreteness, we will here examine this problem only in a few specific examples.

The capitalist solution of the crisis demands that the burdens be placed upon the workers. The ten million unemployed must be sternly denied unemployment insurance, must be denied any cash relief from government treasuries, must be given the very minimum of "food relief" in the most degrading forms of charity, and must be forced to work for a miserable wage, just sufficient to keep them alive, accustoming them, by millions, to a standard of life lower than that of pre-crisis times by 50 to 70 per cent. The entire "wages bill" of the capitalist class is to be cut in half. On this basis, the capitalist class hopes to "restore" its production by winning the markets of the world from its competitors. The chief immediate tactical aim, in putting this stupendous plan over on the workers, is expressed in the Hoover "stagger plan," to divide the work (and also the wages, on a lowered scale) among those at present unemployed, presenting this as a substitute for insurance and relief.

The Hoover "stagger plan" is the symbol of a fascist solution of the crisis.

Against this, the working class solution of the crisis presents itself in an unrelenting fight for unemployment insurance, immediate relief at the expense of government and employers administered by the workers, struggle against wage reductions and the speed-up, and for the seven-hour day without reduction of weekly pay.

The issue is thus presented sharply and definitely. Thus placed before the working class, there is no doubt which they will choose. Therefore the capitalist class has serious need of servants who will prevent this sharp presentation of the issue, who will confuse the workers, who will blind the workers to the definite choice they must make, who will create the illusion that the workers and capitalists can "jointly" solve the problem by reconciling their class interests in a common program. Such servants are the social-fascists.

Thus, when Hoover first announced his program on unemploy-

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ment, it was at once given the blessings of the Reverend Norman Thomas, in the name of the Socialist Party. Thomas declared that Hoover's program was "socialist," and that he should be criticized not for his policy but only for not carrying it out quickly and thoroughly enough. This gave the theme for all the further music of social-fascist demagogy. One and all, American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, the Muste group, the renegades from Communism, raised their voices in various keys and variations, singing Hoover's fascist "stagger plan" to the tune of "socialism."

USING "SHORTER WORKDAY" FOR FASCISM

The social-fascists brought the "stagger plan" to the workers in the robes of "the shorter workday." "Have we not," they demanded to know, "been fighting for generations for a shorter workday?" Now is the opportunity to achieve this goal, therefore, when the capitalist class is trying to keep the masses from hunger and revolution without cost to itself. Hoover said "stagger plan," the "socialists" and the A. F. of L. said "shorter workday," but they both meant exactly the same thing.

At the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L., the Metal Trades Department took the lead in this demagogy by demanding "five-hour day and five-day week," while at the same time approving the Hoover-Green compact of stabilizing wage-rates at the present level. With present hours of labor at approximately 50 hours per week (in manufacturing industry), the realization of this slogan means cutting the living standards of the workers by 50 per cent; and when the actual carrying out of the Hoover-Green agreement is shown to be actual wage-slashes in every industry and locality, the reduction runs from 60 to 75 per cent. In short, it is nothing but a disguised and *exaggerated* form of the "stagger plan."

The Socialist Party joined in the game with the slogan slightly modified to "six-hour day and five-day week." This was immediately taken up by the Trotskyite renegades, as their own "original discovery," and the Communist Party was denounced by them as an enemy of the working class because it refused to join the chorus that extended from Hoover to Cannon. Lovestone, after a little hesitation, also joined in. The united front for the "stagger plan" had indeed become a broad and inclusive one! Hoover's game was working fine!

HESITATION WITHIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

This campaign of demagogy was so brazen, so well-organized, and for a while so confusing in its effect upon the masses, that it even had its effect within the ranks of the Communist Party, caus-

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ing hesitations in carrying through the task of unmasking the hypocritical capitalist rottenness behind the demagogy, a task which required boldness and resoluteness.

Such dangerous hesitations, for example, reached the point where a well-known leader of the revolutionary trade unions in the U.S.A. could write in the magazine of the Red International of Labor Unions, and that we must give "serious and immediate attention" to the question of revising our seven-hour slogan downward, and declaring that failing to do this "we allow the social-fascists to appear as the champions of the shorter work-day." "This, he says, we must prevent at all costs." He sees no way to fight this demagogy except by taking up the slogan of the demagogues! (Article of Bill Dunne, in *R.I.L.U. Magazine*, Feb. 1, 1931.)

Of course Comrade Dunne saw clearly that the social-fascists raised their slogans for 5-hour and 6-hour day because they "fit in perfectly with the Hoover scheme of rotating jobs and cutting wages." But he failed to see that his own proposal to try to take these slogans away from the social-fascists amounted to surrender to the demagogy, and not to struggle against it. Hoover would, indeed, have scored a great victory if his campaign had succeeded in determining even the slogans of the Communist Party!

In discussing this question within the Party, some of our comrades developed this point of view in even more extreme and dangerous forms. They were so impressed by the campaign of demagogy that they already thought our slogan of seven-hour day was causing us to "drag behind the movement," and even that "we are not leading the shorter-hour movement, but are actually opposing it." This was a serious error, and handicapped our campaign to expose the true nature of the social-fascist demagogy as part of the Hoover "stagger plan."

AN ERROR OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

In correctly combatting such hesitations and wrong views within the Party, our Political Bureau itself fell into error by formulating our slogan as "Seven-hour day and five-day week," instead of "Seven-hour day without reduction of pay." The latter is the correct general slogan of the struggle for shorter workday, and we should bring forward the seven-hour demand together with the five-day week only in such cases where the workers involved have already achieved the eight-hour day and five-day week, and where they are ready to practically organize a struggle for new gains along this line.

This error in our use of the seven-hour slogan is a long-standing one, it is true, and dates back before Hoover's "stagger plan." But

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that does not change its political nature, which is that of a concession to demagogy, a weakness in combatting the wrong proposals to adopt the six-hour slogan. All such hesitations and vacillations must be cured if our Party is to properly lead the workers against the social-fascists, for real struggle against the Hoover solution of the crisis.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS

Our Party has, in the main, developed the correct line for the working class struggle under the conditions of the crisis. This line leads away from the capitalist solution of the crisis, and in the direction of the revolutionary working-class solution.

We have not sufficiently, however, drawn all the conclusions which must follow from this generally correct line. We have not sufficiently in a concrete manner exposed the social-fascists as the servants of Hoover and capitalism. And we have not developed for the masses a simple, popular formulation of the revolutionary proletarian solution of the crisis, in such a way as to directly connect it up with the everyday life of the workers, give them a broad view of the historical task to be accomplished, and at the same time make them understand the immediate steps that must be taken to bring the entire working class onto this proletarian path of struggle.

The development of our propaganda and agitation along this line, deepening it and developing all its revolutionary implications in the light of everyday reality, is the task to which we must give our best thoughts and energies. It is along this way that we will defeat the demagogy of the fascists and social-fascists and lead the million masses into struggle against capitalism.

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Mr. Fish Endorses the Socialist Party

By I. AMTER

BEFORE opening his investigation of Communism in the United States, Mr. Fish stated quite frankly that the Fish Committee was not investigating "socialism, anarchism or pacifism." This statement was not made because the United States Congress had limited the scope of the investigation, but because the Congress knew quite well that socialism, anarchism and pacifism are perfectly safe movements and social ideas, as far as imperialism is concerned. During the investigation Fish reiterated, when the Socialist Party was drawn in, that it was not being inquired into, and that the position of the Socialist Party is a correct one. This is quite an endorsement of the Socialist Party, which the workers should understand and know the reasons for.

The Socialist Party of the United States, like its sister Parties in Europe, is a social-fascist Party, with concepts, line and practices conforming to the conditions in the United States. We shall not attempt within the scope of this article to analyze the whole position of the Socialist Party, but shall take some outstanding phases of its activity in the United States and give the reasons why therefore Mr. Fish has endorsed the Socialist Party.

The imperialist and colonial world is in crisis. With the sharpening of the crisis, the question of proletarian revolution is the order of the day, with revolution taking giant steps in China and with overthrow of governments, particularly in Latin America, as daily occurrences (which are the result of imperialist machination, but based upon the deep-going social unrest arising out of the economic crisis). Before the working class of the entire capitalist world stands the question: *For* or *against* capitalism. The economic crisis poses this question in sharp form.

While this struggle goes on, with the masses suffering misery which has no prospect of ending, but on the contrary, of deepening, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union proceeds at a stormy pace. This places the question before the masses even more sharply, and therefore, owing to the activities of the Communists, the Socialist Party more openly shows its character and meets with the endorsement of the Fish Committee.

Let us examine six questions, which are basic to the life of the

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proletariat, and the position of the Socialist Party on these questions. Then we will understand how, in the last election campaign, the capitalist press—New York *Times, Herald-Tribune, Telegram* and *World,* leading capitalist organs of the metropolis—could and did endorse the candidacy of Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun and Jacob Panken, giving them wide publicity in the campaign and expressing the hope that they might be elected to the United States Congress.

Unemployment. Keeping even pace with Herbert Hoover, the Socialist Party has continually understated the number of unemployed in the United States, using the figures of Hoover, and even today not conceding more than 7,000,000 unemployed. Many months ago, William Stuart, director of the U. S. Census Bureau, declared that there were between seven and nine million unemployed. Since that time, unemployment has increased, so that the number is well over ten millions. Why this understatement by the Socialist Party? Because the Socialist Party, as a supporter of capitalism, did not dare to face the basic crisis in capitalism. It looked upon the crisis merely as a cyclical crisis, as in the past, which would be overcome, even though with some direful results for the working class. The Socialist Party of the United States, like its sister parties in other countries, sees the need of stabilizing capitalism, opening the factories in order that the workers may "through the ballot based upon reason" change the system and "vote in" socialism.

The Socialist Party is opposed to struggle against unemployment and at most has adopted in very small form the policy of petitioning for unemployment insurance and in the few state legislatures in which there are state representatives of the Party, of introducing bills (Pennsylvania, Wisconsin). The Socialist Party, as the third party of capitalism, not only does not engage in struggle, but decries and condemns all struggle. Norman Thomas witnessed the clubbing of the October 15 delegation at the New York City Hall and smiled when the police slugged our comrades. Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit begged the police not to club the unemployed "unless they resort to violence."

But even more, in the socialist towns of Reading and Milwaukee, where unemployment is rampant, the socialist adminstrations have clubbed the workers and rejected every demand for unemployment relief. On the other hand, the Socialist Party applauds the "progressive" administration of Detroit, where Mayor Murphy hands out doles to a small number of selected unemployed, selected with a view of dividing up the unemployed and gaining support of part of them.

Mr. Fish knows that the fundamental crisis of capitalism cannot

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and will not be overcome, and therefore he can and does endorse a Party which is calm and advocates only the most peaceful methods of "struggle" to the hungry masses.

Wage cuts. Concomitant with the deepening of the crisis and the growing unemployment, has proceeded an orgy of wage cuts and worsening of conditions in the shops. Keeping pace with their colleagues in Germany and England — and utilizing the action of the capitalists in those countries as an excuse—the American capitalists have engaged in widespread wage cuts. This has resulted in a growing wave of strikes of unorganized and organized workers in all parts of the country—New Orleans (longshoremen and street car men), textile workers (in the south and east), miners, and agricultural workers (in California). In many of these strikes the Socialists, through the Muste wing, have taken over the leadership, both of organized and unorganized workers.

The policy of the Musteites and those related or associated with them is clear: to build up the American Federation of Labor and form a so-called "progressive" wing in it. Mouthing radical phrases of militancy and action, the Muste leadership not only suppresses all militancy but also openly betrays the workers. Thus in Marion, North Carolina, the organizer advised the workers to "bring bibles and not bullets on the picket line." The next day six of the workers were shot down in cold blood by the deputy sheriffs. The strike there as in Elizabethton (three times), Reading, Danville, Kensington, was sold out and the workers returned to work under worsened conditions. In the most recent strike in Philadelphia, the organizer ordered the workers back to work under threat of outlawing the strike and revoking the union charter.

In the "straight" socialist-led unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the socialists practice open class collaboration with the employers, engaging only in sham battles (Amalgamated in Philadelphia), and assisting the manufacturers in lowering the conditions of the workers. The Amalgamated, which arose out of the heat of struggle against the American Federation of Labor in 1912, is now moving rapidly back into the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

Why should Mr. Fish not endorse leadership of this character? Why should he investigate the Socialist Party, which openly collaborates with the capitalists, denounces the militant workers, and, as in New York, uses Tammany Hall gangsters and police to slug the militant workers? Does not the cooperation of Matthew Woll, the stalwart bulwark of American imperialism and frank enemy of the American workers, with Norman Thomas, testify to the trust-

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worthiness of the Socialist Party as far as American imperialism is concerned? The rising militancy of the workers under Communist leadership makes this endorsement of the Socialist Party so much more important for capitalism.

Negroes. On no field is the capitalist class more in dread than that of Negro work. The outrages to which the Negro workers and peasants have been subjected for decades, the treachery they have endured and are enduring through the Negro misleaders, the policy of making themselves useful to capitalism (white capitalism, with a timid suggestion of the right and necessity of creating a Negro petty bourgeoisie), the acceptance of crumbs from the white bourgeoisie by the Negro liberals, have helped to draw a line of deep demarcation between the Negro masses and this leadership. The crisis has weighed down with especial weight upon the Negro workers and poor tenant farmers and share-croppers — unemployment, evictions, diseases due to undernourishment, etc.—resulting in rapid radicalization of the Negro masses and a willingness to fight. Increased manifestations of white chauvinism on the part of those strata of white workers that are under the influence of the bourgeoisie, resulting from the rising militancy of the Negro workers which, at the same time, brings about greater unity of the Negro workers with the more exploited white worker, the intensified propaganda of the capitalists and the government, and the increasing lynching of Negro workers as a means of terrorizing the Negroes, point to the Negro problem as a problem "filled with dynamite."

The Communist Party, at a mass trial, expelled a member of the Party for white chauvinism. This might have been considered merely a demonstration before the workers of the determination of the Party to uproot white chauvinism from its ranks. The capitalists considered it of far greater significance. They recognized that in combatting white chauvinism and in declaring its principles and policies openly to the Negro and white workers—of a bitter struggle for social, economic and political equality for the Negroes, against every form of discrimination, for self-determination and for the right of the Negroes to a state of their own in the Black Belt of the South—the Communist Party is taking over the leadership of the Negro masses, smashing the fake policy of the liberals and of Garveyism and its adventurism, romanticism, and open betrayal of the masses. The struggle against white chauvinism is the essential step in the unification of the Negro and white workers in the proletarian struggle. Therefore, not for nothing was this trial featured on the front pages of the leading capitalist newspapers.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, merits the full endorsement of Mr. Fish for its fascist position and policies on the Negro

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question. This is best exemplified by the socialist congressional platform of last year in which the major demand for the Negroes is "rigid enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments with reference to the Negroes." This is expressive of complete faith in capitalist democracy—and so crassly in opposition to fact that one cannot but see why Mr. Fish endorses the Socialist Party.

But in practice, the matter becomes quite clear. Norman Thomas refused to speak to Negro workers during his congressional tour. The candidate for lieutenant governor of Texas declared it would be a serious mistake for the Socialist Party to take up the Negro question for 40 or 50 years. Heywood Broun, "leader" of the Socialist Party, declared that:

"I would not now sanction the efforts to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution. We must face the fact that in the year 1930 they cannot be put universally into practice except through coercion and the use of armed force."

In other words, since the gaining of rights for the Negroes and the elimination of the discrimination under which they suffer require "coercion" and eventually will demand the use of "armed force," therefore the Socialist Party mouths platitudes that sound radical and trusts to the rigid enforcement of the constitutional amendments, which, in their own words, are "unenforcable."

The Negro problem is "dynamite." The socialists, like the capitalists, believe in using the lynching rope to suppress the Negro, as against the Communists who are mobilizing and organizing the Negro and white workers for joint struggle for Negro rights.

Imperialist war. The increasing menace of war is to be seen not only in the intensified preparations both ideological and material, but in the increasing "pacifist" propaganda on the part of the socialists and liberals. The American Socialist Party, conforming to the line of the Labor and Socialist International, supports the League of Nations. It endorses the London Naval Treaty and the Kellogg Peace Pact—all excellent war measures. Under the aegis of these three plans, imperialistic preparations for war have increased. The crisis has sharpened the situation, as tremendously in the tension between U. S. and British imperialism in Latin America, and French and Italian imperialism in the near east.

But above all, as far as American imperialism is concerned, it is apparent in the open display of force and violence in foreign affairs to a greater degree than ever before. Thus in Central America, although Nicaragua is supposed to be an "independent" state, it is ruled by American marines. This is "deplorable" in the eyes of the socialists, but "unavoidable." In China, the socialists side with the hangman Chiang Kai-shek. In India, they supported Gandhi,

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while the British labor government was slaughtering the Indian workers and peasants. The American Socialist Party endorsed the position of the Labor and Socialist International, through its representative Hillquit, but individually Thomas, Oneal "criticized" and hoped the British socialists "would not disgrace the international." But their temper was moderated by the statement of one Seidel that "*we might do the same if we were in the same situation.*"

Internationally they support the actions of their sister parties: the German social-democrats, who are trying to put across the Young plan, the 10% wage cut and lowering of the unemployment insurance, in coalition with the Bruening government. They support the dictatorial power granted by Paragraph 48 of the Weimar constitution. The American Socialist Party applauds the imperialist harangues and proposals of a Blum or Renaudel of France. Fenner Brockway, a "left" socialist, "assailed" and "criticized" the British labor government for its policy on India, but when MacDonald made peace with Gandhi, Brockway joined with him in betraying the Indian masses. Now Brockway, MacDonald, Norman Thomas and Hillquit approve the handing of the exploitation of the masses over to the Indian capitalists, landowners and princes, with the purse strings and army controlled by British imperialism. The American Socialist Party also applauds the social fascist sell-out and co-operation of the Austrian social democrats with the fascists.

Why then should Mr. Fish not endorse the Socialist Party? Despite all "pacifist" declarations against war the Socialist Party supports American imperialism and the taking of "American culture to the more backward countries"; and thus it merits the full endorsement of the Fish Committee.

In face of the feverish preparations for war being made against the Soviet Union, the position of the Socialist Party is of great interest. The Labor and Socialist International in May, 1930, called upon the Russian workers and peasants to rise against the "terror," and pledged full support of the L.S.I. Hillquit, for the American Socialist Party, signed the appeal to the Russian workers to overthrow the Soviet Government and establish a capitalist "democracy." Following upon this appeal, Abramovich made a tour of the United States, spoke under the full protection of the police, and upon leaving the country took along a bag of $14,000 with which to carry on the work of "liberating the Russian masses." This part in the plot of the mensheviks, whose trial concluded in Moscow a few weeks ago, has been fully exposed.

A discussion has taken place in the Socialist Party on the question of the Soviet Union. The position of the Party on this question is

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embodied in the resolution adopted at the convention on January 31, 1931. The convention repudiated

> "all counter-revolutionary movements inside or outside of Russia which aim at the violent overthrow of the Soviet Government and bases its hopes for progress in Russia upon the reform and democratization of the Soviet regime. . . . We condemn the denial of elementary civil rights, the policy of governmental terrorism and the ruthless suppression of all dissenting opinion which prevail in Russia. . . . The socialist movement opposes all undemocratic tendencies in society at large or within the movements of the working class."

Hamilton Fish, Matthew Woll, another lieutenant of the imperialist class, subscribe to this view. This is the pronouncement of Herbert Hoover and Charles E. Hughes. This is the point of view of American imperialism. Therefore Mr. Fish cannot but endorse the Socialist Party.

Within the Socialist Party is the group of "militants," whom the Lovestonites consider the group that will transform the Socialist Party into a "real" revolutionary" working class Party. This group, headed by Stanley and supported by the Rev. Muste, demands a recognition of the achievements of the Five Year Plan and the necessity of learning from it for the building up of the system in the capitalist countries.

"The Socialist Party," the Stanley resolution declares, "therefore takes a friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia and will utilize, whenever and wherever possible, appropriate features of the Soviet system for furthering the spread of socialism in the United States."

But

> "we look forward to . . . the cessation of the extermination of minority opinion which is inconsistent with the socialist ideal and blinds workers to the fundamental achievements of Soviet Russia."

This differs not one iota from the resolution of Hillquit, Lee, and Thomas. So also say Hoover and Hughes—so speaks American imperialism. And this is the group which the renegade Lovestonites acclaim as the group that is "revolutionizing" the Socialist Party!

What about the practices of the Socialist Party? In addition to the acts of treason of Abramovich, member of the executive committee of the Labor and Socialist International, the Socialist Party is carrying on a most venomous campaign against the Soviet Union, belittling the achievements of the Five Year Plan, declaring that not socialism but capitalism is being built in the Soviet Union. The Jewish *Daily Forward*, sister organ of the Berlin *Vorwarts*, is more slanderous and malignant than the foulest capitalist sheet. The Fish Committee can well trust to the socialists to carry on the most vicious campaign against the Soviet Union.

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The confessions of the mensheviks on trial in Moscow showed the ramifications of the menshevik conspiracy against the Soviet Union. These men knowing that they would be condemned to death for their damnable part in the international imperialist-menshevik conspiracy against the Soviet Union, which embraced military intervention in the year 1930 in its plans, disclosed the threads in the plot, named the socialists involved, the trips they made to the Soviet Union, their connections in Berlin and elsewhere and other intimate details of the plot. They challenged Abramovich to go to Moscow and bear witness to the contrary. Far away in Berlin Abramovich raved. Far away in the imperialist countries the socialists disavowed their accomplices on trial in the Soviet Union. The American Socialist Party disclaims all connection with the plotters; the Dutch socialists declare that they only oppose the dictatorship; the Labor and Socialist International hotly repudiates all intentions of participating in military invasion against the Soviet Union. But none of them explain how, *before the trial, the* Labor and Socialist International *vigorously protested the innocence of the fourteen accused and demanded their release!*

By their own statements, the socialists betray their position: they repudiate the Proletarian Dictatorship and the class line of the working class against the capitalist class. They demand "democracy for the whole people"; they stand for a restoration of "democracy" (capitalist democracy) in the Soviet Union, and therefore are for the liquidation—that is the overthrow and destruction—of the Soviet Government.

The "militants" are the essential cover for the rotten capitalist character of the Socialist Party. In this period of the decline of capitalism, accentuated by the world economic crisis, and the concomitant radicalization of the working class, the capitalist class and the Socialist Party, true to their function, must find ways and means of misleading and betraying the working class in the interests of the capitalist class. As enemies of the Proletarian Dictatorship—more violent even than the capitalists—the socialists are the most rabid hounders and persecutors of the working class and the best friends and abettors of Hamilton Fish, fascist spokesman of American imperialism against the Soviet Union and the workers of the world.

In order to cover up the function of the Socialist Party as the third party of capitalism, by which it declares that "capitalism cannot rule against or without social democracy" (Vandervelde), and its coalition in the bourgeois governments (Germany, soon perhaps in England and France, and also in fact in Milwaukee—coalition with the LaFollettites), the "militants" have a definite role to perform.

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Their role is to head off the rising radicalization of the working masses, by means of radical phrases to tie the workers tight to the crumbling capitalism system, to betray them more effectively in their struggles. To remain in the Socialist Party, now that its nature and work are clearly exposed in the Moscow trial, is a direct demonstration of the counter-revolutionary, social-fascist character also and particularly of the so-called "militants."

Social Fascism. The Socialists — and with them the Lovestoneites—complain when the Communist Party calls them social-fascists—fascists using working class language and methods. The evolution of the Mosley group out of the Labor Party of Great Britain is a classical example of how fascism develops out of the Socialist Party. The American Socialist Party, to be sure, "criticizes" Mosley, but it is proceeding along the same path. It engages in the same practices, it approves the same policies and methods that have given rise to the Mosley group in the Labor Party. Mr. Fish cannot but approve this.

The so-called "militants" in the Socialist Party are merely a replica of the Independent socialists of Great Britain—Fenner Brockway, Maxton, Cook—the "radicals"—most of whom today are with Mosley.

Social fascism arises out of the impotence of capitalism to solve its contradictions, to extricate itself from the crisis. It is the effort of the capitalist class to maintain itself by changing its method of rule from covert to open dictatorship (against which the Socialist Party hypocritically rails so loudly) and to combat the challenging radicalization of the masses. The Socialist Party, with its vanishing traditions among the working class, at times using working class language, with its "militants" demanding "more appeals to the workers," with its Musteites and Lovestoneites helping to build up the fascist leadership of the American Federation of Labor and to betray the workers and break their strikes, with the program of imperialism as its own program (with "socialist criticism"), merits full well the endorsement of Mr. Fish.

"No investigation of socialism" is right. Mr. Fish knows the friends and foes of American imperialism. American imperialism knows that Communism is its foe and the Socialist Party is its friend and tool. Mr. Fish therefore, does right in giving full endorsement to the Socialist Party as the strikebreaking, social-fascist enemy of the working class and the Soviet Union. A medal of imperialist honor for the Socialist Party.

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A Review of the Political Scene on the Parliamentary Stage

By HARRISON GEORGE

FOR the first time in history, Communists participated in the in the national parliament during the Third Session of the Seventy-First Congress of the United States.

This occurred when, on February 10, to the accompaniment of a hasty capitalist mobilization of rifles, poison gas bombs, machine guns, and martial forces, the National Unemployed Delegation invaded the House of Representatives, demanding in the name of 10,000,000 jobless workers and over the signatures of about a million of these, unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists to be administered by the workers.

This event, marked by the flat refusal of Speaker Longworth to receive the delegation, and the horified rejection of the demand to speak from the tribune of the House, also awoke the Hon. Edward E. Eslick of Tennessee, a member of the Fish Committee, to lengthy and alarmed comment the next day:

> "The burning match within itself is harmless, but if you put it within a few feet of a powder keg you begin to take notice, and the closer it comes to the keg the more dangerous it is. We may have the powder keg too close to be comfortable."

But, of course, Mr. Eslick would stamp out the match and let the powder keg continue to be a powder keg. Indeed he and his class cannot but continue to make more powder. And their alarm will grow as they discover that stamping out the match is exceedingly difficult.

What can we extract from this alarm of the capitalists at the chaos and insecurity of their world, which they had thought so stable? Is there a political crisis in the United States? Or a revolutionary situation? Can we gently slide over from the conclusion that the "theory of organized capitalism has collapsed" to a conclusion that capitalism has itself "collapsed"?

SOME POSSIBLE WRONG CONCLUSIONS

We think that an examination of the political scene on the parliamentary stage of Washington will be helped by some preliminary

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clearing away of possible wrong conclusions such as those mentioned above.

What is the estimate of the situation in the United States as given by an editorial in the *Communist International* (Vol. VII, No. 3-4) on the question of a political crisis? It is:

> "Undoubtedly the rate of development of the economic crisis is very rapid here, (speaking of France—H. G.) the maneuvering possibilities of the bourgeoisie are considerably less than in the U. S. A., and the *first harbingers* of the approaching political crisis are already present. But neither in France, nor particularly in the U. S. A., is there yet a serious *regrouping* within the bourgeois camp."

Thus, also, particularly because we are examining parliamentary events, it is helpful to cite the following from the same source:

> "If, on the one hand, it would be a great opportunist danger to underestimate the development of the economic crisis into a political one, to deny its existence, say in Germany, it would, on the other hand, constitute a no less opportunist danger masquerading behind 'left' phrases and concealing real parliamentary cretinism, applying *mechanically* this process of development to all countries, to infer the existence of a political crisis only on the strength of external, formal signs of a parliamentary character."

The danger that the growing instability of the capitalist parties, and the superficial aspects of parliamentary *maneuvering* of the bourgeoisie, may be interpreted as "proof" of a political crisis, leads us again to cite the above source as to the development of the economic crisis into a political one:

> "A political crisis by itself does not yet mean a direct revolutionary situation. But it is the *eve* of revolution. Lenin repeatedly characterized a political crisis as that time when the upper class can no longer live as formerly, but when the degree of activity and ability of the lower class to fight (already strong in itself) does not yet conform to the degree of disorganization of the upper class. This does *not* mean that a political crisis develops from above in a *parliamentary* way. One or the other change of government, just as one or another encroachment on the rights of parliament or on the external forms of 'democracy' still does not signify the presence of a political crisis in a country. A sure external proof of the existence of a political crisis is the basic regrouping of the political forces in the bourgeois camp. But this proof is not a factor 'in itself,' but is the *result* of pressure from *below*, of a keen *sharpening* of the *basic class antagonisms*. The regrouping of the political forces in the bourgeois camp, the greater or smaller *appearance* of fascism, goes on not spontaneously, but nly as a *result f a basic re-alignment of social forces*, of the greater or lesser accentuation of the *danger of a proletarian revolution*."

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NO BASIC REGROUPING OF BOURGEOISIE

Merely because Mr. Eslick voices alarm over the danger of matches and powder kegs, and voices of anxiety are raised at the upsetting of various schemes for "organized capitalism" and at the challenge of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, we cannot yet draw the conclusion of a political crisis inthe United States or even the "maturing of the elements of a political crisis." There is yet no "basic regrouping of the political forces in the bourgeois camp."

It is necessary to study and define events, not scholastically, but clearly, with a view to lay hold of the situation with Communist tactics. A merely scholastic study that goes into all holes and corners, may well infer from events as they have developed that "new stages and new perspectives" demand new tasks, in reality a skipping over of tasks we have yet not accomplished. As comrade Manuilsky said, speaking last September on the situation in America and in warning against this tendency:

> "It is this tendency of creating new tasks which creates obstacles for the fulfillment of old decisions which have not been carried out. The opening up of new stages, more resolutions about new stages, but the wagon will remain in its old place."

With these clarifications of the general situation in the United States, we may see from an examination of the parliamentary events of the recent session of the 71st Congress, the correctness of the analysis given by the Communist International.

CAPITALIST CONTENTMENT

Speaker Longworth of the House of Representatives well epitomized the parliamentary situation at the closing hour on March 4, when, in reply to a resolution proposed by a Georgia Democrat thanking him for his "fair and painstaking work" during the session, in which only four days previously he was made the butt of a Democratic attack, responded:

> "It is only an all-wise Providence who is going to determine which of the two great political parties will organize the next House of Representatives. With whatever Providence may decree, I am abundantly satisfied."

With this valedictory of capitalist contentment enclosing its inner disputes, was ended the session which began last December with a formal truce between the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties on the basis of expediting the "nation's" (capitalism's) business.

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There was even musical accompaniment to this capitalist harmony, all joining in singing "America," the Tammany Democrats contributing "The Sidewalks of New York," the rural touch being given by five fiddlers imported from the Virginia mountains, and the "much abused" Interstate Commerce Commission supplying a male chorus. All this was not interrupted by as much as one discordant squawk from the lonely "Farmer-Labor" supporter of capitalism.

THE TRUCE VIOLATED

This, of course, does not mean any lack of opposition to the Party of capitalism dominating the administration. On the contrary, not only was there a violation of the "truce" as soon as Congress convened, with the Democrats in full cry against Hoover; Robinson (D) attacking as insufficient the Hoover proposal that $25,000,000 be appropriated for "drought relief" and supporting a bill for $60,000,000—but as the session went on, more and more factional fights developed within both Republuican and Democratic Parties.

Indeed, the $60,000,000 bill itself, introduced on the opening day, was sponsored by McNary, a Republican, much to the distaste of the administration. It was supported chiefly by Democrats and the demagogic "farm bloc," but met—besides the taken-for-granted administration resistance—the opposition of Borah, who came to the front with a warning about the danger of increasing taxes. This occurred, although Borah was found the next February in the limelight of opposition to Hoover's insistence on the terms of the $20,000,000 secondary "drought relief" bill known as the "Arkansas compromise"; Robinson, meanwhile, going over completely to the side of Hoover on this question.

This shifting about on issues illustrates the effects of the economic crisis sharpening the struggles for special interests of Parties and factions within the Parties—but entirely within the general limits of the policies of finance capital—based upon the special interests of one group as against other groups of the bourgeoisie.

PLAY OF DEMAGOGY

Necessarily, both Parties and all factions appeal for their interests to be supported in the name of high and exalted ends. The spreading and deepening misery of the masses was the starting point for both administration and opposition demagogy, the administration, of course, being more restrained.

Did not Hoover's message propose $25,000,000 for "drought relief"? Did it not propose $150,000,000 to "aid the idle"? Most certainly! But it was accompanied by a "warning to economize"

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lest the record budget of $4,667,845,468 (kindly compare with the "relief" proposed!) be exceeded and bring about the bane of more taxes.

Even in enjoining economy, Hoover's message of December 3 put forward his "first concern" for the unemployed:

> "It will tax our every resource to expand in directions providing employment during the next few months upon already authorized projects.... The plea of unemployment will be advanced as reason for many new ventures—but no reasonable view of the outlook warrants such plea...."

But if the administration was demagogic, the opposition outdid itself. One might fill books with the demagogy exuded by both Democrats and Republicans in opposition. The whole galaxy—Caraway, Wheeler, LaFollette, Brookhart, Couzens, Borah—excelled themselves in solicitude for the masses suffering under the crisis. But they kept well inside the deadline of bourgeois demagogy.

One of the examples we may cite. A speech upon which the Senate gavel fell, dramatically closing the session on March 4, was that of Senator Elmer Thomas, Oklahoma Democrat, which is worth quoting:

> "Recent developments through the country and even in this chamber make paramount the question: Who controls and manages the government of the United States?
>
> "The existing depression, drought and governmental administration have divided our people into two major groups. One controls and profits from government and the other, although it pays the taxes, fights the battle and performs the work, by the dominating group is neglected, ignored and forgotten.
>
> "The special interests group, embracing finance, transportation, and industry, is highly and efficiently organized. The people's group, embracing the unemployed, the wage earners, farmers, veterans and honest business men, is at the mercy of the organized few who know what they want and get what they request.
>
> "Our present economic system, traveling the road of chains, consolidations, mergers and monopoly, will soon reach complete industrial monopoly, and industrial monopoly means human slavery. To what degree free Americans will submit to the dictation of monopoly remains to be demonstrated. Already the rumblings and echoes of distress, discord, and denunciation are reaching the nation's capitol.
>
> "In a favored land, with storehouses bulging with food, our people are hungry; with warehouses crowded with goods, our people are naked and cold; and with our banks overflowing with money, our people are penniless."

And for what end was Senator Thomas climbing these heights of obatory in a filibuster that lasted from the previous day, through

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the three hours of the last day, until the gavel fell in the august Senate? Did he propose that those "bulging warehouses" be opened and that food and clothing and money be distributed to the starving masses? *He did not!*

Senator Thomas was fighting for the "independent oil producers" of the southwest, in their effort to shut off the oil imported from Venezuela by the "big monopolies," the agencies of the Standard and the Royal Dutch. Thus, the spectre of mass resentment to "our present economic system" was exhorted only for the interests of "honest business"—the business represented by Senator Thomas.

DROUGHT RELIEF

When the hungry and naked and penniless "people" came knocking at the doors of Congress on February 10, not a friend could they find! And when the question of "human food" was raised in the first Robinson measure proposing that $25,000,000 be given the Red Cross, it is an open secret that the "financial backers" of the Democratic party swung the whip and compelled a veritable *volte-face* on the part of Robinson and his followers, inducing them to unite with Hoover and Hyde against the "dole" which lurked with all its dangers behind the malevolent word "food."

It is to be noted that this still-born gesture was forced upon Congress by the mass demonstration of the starving farmers, particularly the armed protest at England, Ark. But the gesture resulted only in a united front of the regulars of both Republican and Democratic parties to put over the program of finance capital in agricultural credits, in its own interest and in aid to its allies, the "kulak" class of rich farmers—against the toiling masses of poor and middle farmers.

THE VETERANS' BONUS

After all was said and done about the veterans' bonus; after all the demagogy spilled by Congress which passed the 50 per cent loan (at 4½% interest compounded annually!) over Hoover's veto; what the veterans got was considerably less than that proposed by Owen D. Young.

Young suggested an outright partial payment in addition to the then existing loan "privilege" of 22½%. What they got was an outright swindle of their future interests in the bonus, under the guise of immediate relief.

Nor would they have received even this, this demagogic pretension of aid, had it not been that there was need for finance capital to hold the veterans in tow for future use as fascist shock troops

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against the day of mass revolt. Without it, the deepening crisis was threatening to alienate veterans from the Legion, which, in Hoover's speech to its Boston convention last October 6, he had invited to "uphold peace"—namely to prepare for war against the revolutionary workers and toiling farmers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The record is clear when it comes to the crucial question of unemployment. The Congress which disregarded party lines to pass the bonus loan over Hoover's veto, obeyed his command to economize on his ridiculous proposal to "afford employment" by appropriating $150,000,000 for public building—by reducing it to $116,000,000.

It approved the Wagner bill to enlarge the government bureaucracy by establishing a network of "employment agencies"—though it knew that Hoover would veto this—and the other "we-must-investigate-unemployment" proposals of Wagner which are aimed solely to conceal the rejection by the whole capitalist class of any and all demands of the Unemployed Councils.

Congress was, even in its most courageous opposition members, too fearful of the effect upon the masses of its own demagogy, to seize upon the February 10 demonstration at the capitol and utilize it for opposition ends. On those days even the opposition was silent, silent and cowardly, while Bachman of the Fish Committee demanded that "treasonable mouths be shut."

TOWARD WAR

Congress gave the Fish Committee loose rein for all the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, anti-working class propaganda it wished to spread, as a preliminary moral preparation for embargoes and war against the Soviet Union; and as justification for the intensified present attacks upon the foreign-born workers. If there were no proposals of Fish made into law at this past session, the reason is not any divergence of opinion between Congress and finance capital, but rather that new laws were not required, since Secretary Doak was digging up old ones and the attack on the workers was proceeding without new laws. Also, the Fish propaganda already spread serves as a basis for hostile action of new character any moment this may be necessary. Thus the net result shows an advance against the Soviet Union—a long step forward toward armed intervention.

In foreign affairs, the noisiest "opposition" to the London Treaty was that of the "big navy" men, which of course excused every capitalist politician from the "progressives" down to the "Socialists"

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(who could only add their "Me, too!" from outside parliament) in supporting the biggest naval building scheme in history.

The War Policies Commission, meeting after the session closed, is now preparing a bill proposed by Benard M. Baruch, which under the guise of "freezing" all prices, including wages, at the outbreak of war, leaves to the "sole discretion" of the President to "adjust either upward or downward" . . . "any maximum price, wage, rent," etc. Blandly ignoring the artificial horrors at "forced labor in the Soviet Union," it is proposed that "Work or fight!" be legalized as "far more effective than any chain gang."

Not even the sign of a struggle developed over the naval building program, which Senator Hale of Maine, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, after the session was closed, boasted had made "gains',, had made a start, with the $48,000,000 appropriated, toward "bringing the navy up to treaty strength"—involving a final expenditure of $1,000,000,000. The significance of these primary appropriations has been carefully hidden by every last capitalist congressman, including the "Farmer-Laborite." Hale looks forward cheerfully to greater appropriations in the next Congress, and on March 6, stated:

> "Politics has never had anything to do with the naval policy of Congress, and I believe that we shall have as much Democratic as Republican support for our program."

The same may be said of the administration's policy toward all imperialist oppression and robbery of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The continuous warfare by United States gunboats upon the Red Army of China awoke no echo of opposition in Congress. The theft of the land of the Philippine peasants and their risings produced no reverberation at Washington. The maneuvers about and murders within Nicaragua, the persistent backing of Machado's fascist rule in Cuba, and every nefarious act of intrigue and aggression against both the Soviet Union and the colonials, met with no serious objection from the members of Congress.

THE "PROGRESSIVE" CONFERENCE

We may thus conclude that the parliamentary opposition in the past Congress, which opposition is calling a conference to prepare a "progressive" program for the next Congress where Republican "lame ducks" will be replaced by Democrats, is sincere in asserting that the conference is not intending to create a new political party.

This conference (which will be ended before these lines are printed) invites selected capitalist politicians, including Norman

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Thomas "it is expected," and "noted economists," to a round-table gabble-fest upon:

> "1. Unemployment and industrial stabilization; 2. Public utilities; 3. Agriculture; 4. Tariff; 5. Return to normal representative government."

There is room in all of these subjects to bring forth anything in the form of a program from fascism to Communism. The demagogy will most likely sound to the masses something like the latter, while the program proposed will advance the "organized capitalism" theory of the former. But there are limits to both.

We cannot see in the personal opportunist Borah, nor in the weak figure of Norris, nor even in the more active Wheeler and La-Follette, the leadership of a new party, let alone a party of fascism. And all of these are so scared of their own demagogy having effect upon the masses, that a curb will be set upon their tongues.

They will probably make Muscle Shoals "government operation" a "big issue" and stand for such trivial "unemployment solution" as the Wagner bills, along another "investigation of unemployment insurance," repeal of the Smoot-Hawley tariff, and the perennial anti-injunction bill.

NO "NEW LINE" NEEDED

The question here is, what do all these parliamentary shiftings and maneuvers signify? To the undisguised opportunists, they will mean a battle between "reaction" and "progress," opening the way for some hopeful maneuver with the petty bourgeoisie, for "united fronts" of all sorts with the new "left" in the "Socialist" party, and especially cheering right-wing longings for a "real" Farmer-Labor party. This right-wing view excluudes all possibilities of the development of the economic crisis into a political crisis, because it minimizes the economic crisis.

For any "left" opportunists, who simply cannot settle themselves to mass work, and the accomplishment of hard daily tasks long ago set as a prerequisite to revolutionary advance, the growing sharpness of parliamentary debate, the increasing instability of the poliitcal parties of capitalism (including the Socialist party), the factional tension and quarrels in the major capitalist parties, the first symptoms of a new party which the "progressive conference" may encourage as a by-product, the growing fascist tendency in all sections of the bourgeoisie—may appear as a "political crisis," as an "approaching revolutionary situation."

But there is no need for a "new line" or a "change in line" of the Party—but to carry out the line given by the Sixth World Con-

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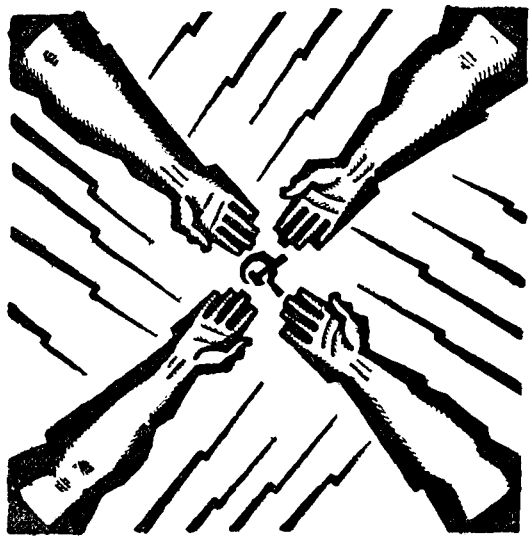
gress and Tenth Plenum of the Communist International and the Seventh Congress and Twelfth Plenum of our Party. Neither does any analysis of the shiftings in the political parties and the instability of parliamentary groups, brought about by the economic crisis and symptomatic of new maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, give any basis for frenzied search for "new stages" in the class struggle that might demand "new tasks." On the contrary, any analysis shows the necessity for the accomplishment of the tasks already determined by our Party with the aid of the Communist International.



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Overcome Looseness in Our Mass Work

By JACK JOHNSTONE

WITHOUT doubt, the influence of our Party within the ranks of the workers is very broad, reaching into the smaller communities, North, South, East and West, to points where we have no Party membership at all.

That our Party is learning slowly and awkwardly to understand the importance of partial demands and how to formulate them, drawing in a larger percentage of Party members into active work than ever before, that our Party is growing in political maturity, cannot be denied. To be conscious of all this is necessary—to be satisfied with it would be suicidal.

THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS

Our Party suffers from a major weakness, namely, that the gap between the Party influence and the organizational strength of the workers under the Party influence, seems to widen rather than to reach a more natural relationship of growth.

We must measure the success of every campaign, of every demonstration, of every strike, by the number of workers that have joined the unemployed councils, how many tenants' leagues have been organized, how many evictions have been stopped, how many shop committees have been organized—do they fight for the every-day grievances and demands of the workers, what numerical strength was gained by the Trade Union Unity League and the revolutionary unions, are they successfully fighting wage-cuts, how many new members were brought into the Party, have they been assigned, are they given a task, are they retained in the Party? This is the yard-stick by which we must measure success.

Taking this as a yard-stick by which to measure our advance towards the building of a mass Communist Party, can we say that we are carrying out our Communist duty well? I think not. I believe that this is the general situation in the country. At least, I know it is the situation in the New York District which is taken as the basis for this article.

Of course, to say that from March 6, 1930, to March 6, 1931, we have not made organizational advancement in New York would be entirely wrong. In March, 1930, we had no unemployed coun-

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cils, just a committee. Now we can count probably two dozen; but only a few really function satisfactorily and have any tangible membership. These councils are reaching into broad masses of workers never before reached by our Party. This is good as far as it goes, but it is far from being sufficient. The fact is that our revolutionary unions and leagues have not grown in numbers to any appreciable degree and our Party and the Young Communist League show just about the same numerical strength as they did one year ago. This does not mean that the membership has remained static—it means that we have not found the means of increasing and at the same time retaining our new membership.

What is the fundamental cause of this dangerous shortcoming? Here we see a deepening of the economic crisis, bringing increasing misery to broader sections of the working class, a more general increase in the radicalization of the working class, a rapid growth in the influence of our Party and the TUUL over the workers, a certain (although insufficient) organizational growth of the unemployed councils. Yet the gap between the ideological influence of our Party and the TUUL over the workers and our organizational strength, widens instead of closing.

BETTER COORDINATION NEEDED

There are many reasons for this. The work of the Party and that of the TUUL and unemployed councils is not properly coordinated. The tendency for the Party to substitute for the TUUL and the unemployed councils still strongly prevails. This manifests itself in a number of ways. In Paterson, N. J., the Party organized a committee of workers in the Wright aeroplane factory. Yet when the strike took place this very committee went to the Machinists' Union for leadership, and even after going into the Machinists' Union they still accepted the program of the Party for the strike and fought for it within the union.

This was possible simply because the Party leadership substituted the Party for the Metal Workers Industrial League, instead of organizing these workers into the Metal League, connecting them as an organic part with the Metal Workers Industrial League National Committee, and forming a shop committee as the basis for the strike leadership. The result of this wrong approach actually diverted the workers into instead of away from the A. F. of L.—thus paving the way for the betrayal of the strike.

Again, in New York City, quite a broad united front conference was formed by the TUUL and Unemployed Councils in support of the Unemployed movement, but it never really functioned, never was utilized to one fraction of the degree that it was organized for.

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The territorial or section United Front committees of action that were planned at the general conference were never organized, financial support pledged was never raised. The conferences were successful, but only as conferences—the good resolutions and program of action remained on paper. The opportunity to reach more deeply into the reformist unions, breadlines, workers' organizations, and the unorganized, was not fully utilized. Again the Party, instead of using Party experience, Party knowledge, Party organization to broaden the united front, proceeded to substitute for it. The Section Party committee, although a part of the United Front, organized hunger marches, demonstrations, signature drives in the name of the United Front committee, or Unemployed Councils, without troubling much about organizing these necessary and important bodies.

RESULTS OF CORRECT APPLICATION

On the other hand, we can see the results of a correct application of policy. The general policy of concentration, the importance of partial demands, the developing of independent initiative and leadership of the TUUL and the Unemployed Councils, are quite generally accepted, if not sufficiently applied. The Lawrence textile strike is a good example of how to apply this policy correctly. The National Committee of the TUUL decided to concentrate on Lawrence and to develop the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union. The plan of work was evolved by the TUUL and the Union, organizers were sent into the field to carry out the plan, all forces were mobilized. Here we learned to draw the workers into active leadership of the strike struggle, how to lead a strike, and in the face of the most brutal terror how to end a strike with concrete organizational results. If the present correct application of the policy is followed up a real base for the National Textile Workers Union has been established.

Again there is the Albany hunger march. In spite of very poor preparatory work, once the marchers were organized and sent on their way, they became a highly political and organizational force. Composed mostly of raw recruits to the class struggle movement, they developed a clear political understanding of their mission to Albany. Every marcher developed a well coordinated function, in every city they showed their ability as propagandists and organizers. In the state assembly they showed that green workers given a task, could carry out with precision, according to plans and with a decisiveness that left a deep impression on the workers generally. Many new leaders were developed. Their struggle showed that the workers, white and Negro, women and youth, have initiative, are creative, that white chauvinism disappears rapidly in the process of struggle.

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These and other situations can be cited to prove the correctness of our policy, that action and results come with a correct application of the policy.

DEVELOP MASS INITIATIVE

It is not a healthy situation when the Party membership by themselves have to be mobilized for the distribution of a United Front leaflet, to go on the picket line, or to raise finances in a WIR tag day for the hunger marches. These tasks and many more must be carried out by the TUUL, the Unemployed Councils, the various mass organizations within the United Front. The excuse that the non-Party mass organizations are not yet developed sufficiently to do this work, or that conditions will not allow us to wait to build a United Front, is simply begging the question. We must build the revolutionary unions, we must build the Unemployed Councils, we must build and broaden the United Front, they must have an independent expression. The substitution of these organizations by the Party weakens them instead of building them.

Quite a basic contributing factor to this general Party weakness lies in the fact that the Party corps of leading functionaries, from the unit bureaus to the District Committee, are quite generally isolated from participation in the work of the mass organizations. Let me take New York again to illustrate this point:

The majority of the members of unit bureaus, and Section organizers, play very little part in their respective unions and leagues or united fronts. It has been the quite current opinion that to be elected to a unit bureau meant the dropping of "trade union work" for "Party work." Of course, with this erroneous conception, one can very easily see how difficult it is for the Party to build a broad united front, to mobilize the unemployed workers in an organized manner for struggle against unemployment and to carry out the Party's main task—that of building the revolutionary unions.

INTO THE FACTORIES

If our Party was rooted in the shops on the basis of shop nuclei, these basic weaknesses would not occur. As it is, the members in our street units and bureaus are from as many shops as there are members in the unit, or on the bureau. All the members of the unit may be working in factories widely separated and not in the territory of the unit. Neither the bureau nor the unit reflects factory life or factory struggles. Mass work is interpreted to mean mass meetings, distribution of leaflets, sale of Party literature, participation in mass demonstrations, attendance at unit meetings. It is true that concentration points were selected, but the same method of work prevailed, except that there were more mass meetings, more

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leaflets distributed, more Party literature sold, more demonstrations held, better attendance at unit meetings. The main essential has not yet been attained—namely, to draw the membership of the Party, including the unit bureaus, Section committee, Section organizers, into membership of and active participation in the work of the TUUL and the revolutionary industrial unions, Leagues, and Unemployed Councils.

Is it a basic weakness when the members of the unit bureaus, Section committees, Section organizers, and even members of the district bureaus, are not established leaders among the workers? In my opinion it is. Of course, it must be borne in mind that the leadership in the units and Sections is, comparatively speaking, quite young in years. However, if we continue the practice of developing two types of leader-cadres: one inside the Party and another in the mass organizations, it will lead to greater errors in the future than we are making now. This does not mean that the leading Party functionaries must become leading functionaries in the TUUL, or Unemployed Councils. It means that every Party member must strive to become a leader in his respective union, a leader in the mass struggles of the workers, through activity in the union, in the shop, or in strikes.

BE ACTIVE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS

What are the logical results of this unbalanced method of work? It means that the main task of the Party, namely, to build the revolutionary industrial unions and the TUUL, remains another good Plenum resolution, on paper. The TUUL remains in skeleton form, dragging behind instead of leading the masses in strike struggle. The Unemployed Councils are not given proper direction, they remain weak. Where they show tremendous growth, their full strength is not utilized either to fight against unemployment, or as a means to broaden the TUUL. The Party is overburdened with work—there are not enough days in the week to do all the work.

How is it possible for our Party to carry out its main task—namely, to build the TUUL—if the leading corps of Party functionaries either do not belong or are inactive in the TUUL?

How is it possible to put into effect the Party slogan, "Every member of the Party an active members of the TUUL," if this example is not set by the leading corps of Party functionaries?

It simply cannot be done. It is of course impossible for unit bureaus, Section committees, Section organizers, to give full time work in the revolutionary unions and Unemployed Councils. The solution, however, is not the division of tasks into "Party tasks" and "trade

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union tasks," but a correlation of work. Membership in and attendance at revolutionary unions, shop committees, Unemployed Councils, mass work, by unit bureau members, Section committee members, Section organizers, and other functionaries, is necessary. The workers appreciate and understand that the Party has work to do outside their particular unions, that is in the interest of the working class, and in the interest of their union. They know well that these comrades have many tasks to perform. They may demand that comrades take a more definite leadership in the union. This is as it should be. This is the kind of relationship that must be developed between the Party and the mass organizations.

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The Crisis of the Jim-Crow Nationalism of the Negro Bourgeoisie

By HARRY HAYWOOD

"COLORED America needs nothing so much at this time as a Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi argued that all the machinery of government in India is in the hands of the English and their native puppets. His people are neither in the possession of the implements of warfare nor are they trained in their use. They are without economic resource, illiterate and inexperienced. Therefore Gandhi argued that passive and non-violent resistance was the only effective weapon in India's possession. He has won. . . . All India is following his lead, has eventually risen as one man and stopped cooperation, thus rendering impotent English government in India. The All Indian Congress has placed complete power in Gandhi to deal with England. . . . Gandhi tells the story for colored America."

Thus reads an editorial in the *New York News and Harlem Home Journal*, an influential Negro bourgeois paper.

It is not accidental that Negro reformism chooses as its ideal the arch betrayer of the Indian masses, Mahatma Gandhi. The reason for this monumental reverence of Gandhi is quite evident. The deepening crisis and rising temper of the Negro masses against the increasing yoke of oppression, make necessary greater demagogy on the part of the Negro bourgeoisie. Gandhi has developed to perfection this new type of demagogy. Gandhi has shown best how to fool the masses, how best to betray them under the condition of sharpening crisis and rising revolutionary movement.

This is why Gandhi, who has just sold out the Indian masses "for a mess of salt," as has been aptly stated, has become the ideal of reformism in general, and of national reformism in particular. The strategy of the Indian bourgeoisie under the leadership of Gandhi, in betraying the revolutionary movement of the Indian masses, has become a pattern for study by all national reformists, especially at the present time when these latter, haunted by the spectre of revolutionary mass ferment, are deserting on all hands the national liberation movement for the camp of imperialism.

The same forces that compelled the Indian bourgeoisie under the leadership of Gandhi to embark upon the campaign of civil

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disobedience and salt tax boycott and which culminated in the dastardly desertion of the struggle of the Indian masses, are at work in the Negro liberation movement in the U. S. These forces are the gathering mass struggles of the Negro toilers against imperialism.

The crisis means a hundredfold intensification of the yoke of imperialist oppression upon the millions of Negro toilers in this country. It means a reducing of their already starvation level of existence to new low levels. In the South the masses of Negro tenant farmers, share croppers and farm laborers are being driven into further bondage and dependency by the slave driving landlords and usurers. Debt slavery and convict labor are increasing. Chain gangs lengthen. Disease and famine are rife. The Jim Crow districts in the cities, with their foul and pestilential housing conditions, inhuman congestion, exorbitant rents, are, under conditions of sharpening crisis, becoming virtual hell-holes of misery and poverty for the Negro toilers. The already poverty-stricken level of the Negro workers makes them the easiest victims of the vicious capitalist offensive of unemployment, wage cuts and speed-up.

A new and more cruel slavery is being prepared for the Negro masses. This is manifested in the fiendish terror of increased lynching orgies, increased Negro baiting activities of the KKK, the springing up of new terrorist organizations, with venomous Negro hating programs (Caucasion Crusaders, Black Shirts, etc.), the cold-blooded killings of Negro workers all over the country by uniformed police thugs, the driving out of entire Negro populations from towns.

The rapidly worsening conditions of the Negro masses, taking place under conditions of developing revolutionary labor movement, are rapidly creating the basis for a new rise in the Negro liberation movement. The harbingers of this development are already at hand, especially in the industrial centers, as witnessed in the growing militancy of the Negro workers, their active participation, with white workers, in strikes, street demonstrations, hunger marches, attacks upon storehouses and warehouses.

The first big movement of the Negro toilers took place during the period of post-war crisis, which resulted in ruinous consequences for the Negro masses—unemployment, riots and lynchings chiefly because of the immaturity of the Negro working class (large sections of which had recently migrated from the farms) and the weakness of the revolutionary labor movement. The leadership of this potential revolutionary movement was seized by the petty bourgeois intellectuals, who under the guidance of Marcus Garvey diverted the struggle into reactionary, utopian, back-to-

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Africa channels. But the present movement is *developing under the sign of proletarian hegemony*.

The further industrialization of the South, the migration of Negro peasants from the farms into the industrial centers of the North and South, has led to the strengthening of class differentiation among the Negro peoples.

The political awakening of the Negro workers is going on apace. The period since the post-war crisis has been marked by the emergence of a Negro proletariat upon the political arena as an independent class force. The age-long isolation and particularism is being broken down in the crucible of sharpening class struggle. This development has been given added momentum by the present crisis and the growth of the revolutionary movement.

In this situation the Negro bourgeoisie finds that its leadership over the Negro masses is no longer undisputed. The growth and maturing of this "most important driving force" of the Negro liberation movement, the Negro working class, is a direct threat to the hegemony of the Negro bourgeoisie. It is clear that the latter cannot go on betraying the masses in the old way. It must find new methods, it must utilize more demagogy. In all the current writings and speeches of the foremost spokesmen of this group there is clearly evidenced a groping for these new methods. In the perusal of a number of articles written by such eminent Negro publicists as Du Bois and Kelly Miller, there is an open discussion of the "dilemma" or "crisis" and a seeking of a way out. The Negro bourgeoisie, as every other bourgeoisie, interprets its own class interests as the interests of the people as a whole. It is therefore quite clear that this "crisis of the Negro race" is in reality a crisis in Negro bourgeois nationalism which is being sorely tried by the growing militancy of the Negro masses.

The conditions of the Negro masses are worsening from day to day. They are clamoring for relief from their misery. They are demanding action on the question of their vital needs. This struggle of the Negro masses against starvation and against capitalist oppression, begins to break through the "pale" of enforced isolation and find its expression as part of the revolutionary labor movement. It is *this* that is the cause of the anxiety in the ranks of the Negro reformists. It is in this light that we must explain this new outburst of frenzied demagogy of the Negro bourgeoisie. The old methods of pacifying the masses are no longer effective in the present situation. New ways must be found to check the rising spirit of rebellion of the Negro masses against their deepening misery. New weapons of betrayal must be forged. Hence the adulation of the arch traitor, Gandhi. Hence the paeans of praise for this throttler of the revo-

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lutionary movement of the Indian masses, because it is Gandhi who is the embodiment of this new type of demagogy.

The Negro bourgeoisie stands at the cross-roads. It must either place itself at the head of the growing movement of the Negro masses and carry out a semblance of struggle for the crying needs of these masses, or admit its complete bankruptcy. In other words it must master the teachings of the arch strategist of national reformism, Gandhi. It must "head in order to behead" that movement, in order to preserve the separation of the Negro masses under conditions of deepening crisis and developing revolutionary struggles. A glance at the present activities of the Negro bourgeoisie shows that their whole strategy is to narrow down the movement of the masses by placing before it limited objectives, to confine it to the Negro "ghettoes," to prevent it from merging with the revolutionary labor movement.

Already at the beginning of the crisis, the Negro reformists began to intensify their demagogy among the Negro masses. Forced on by the growing militancy of the masses and the activities of revolutionary organization, the Negro bourgeoisie and their white "liberal" friends organized series of round table conferences to talk over the situation of how best to check the growing movement of the Negro toilers.

The main Negro reformist organizations on a national scale are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Urban League. The N.A.A.C.P. carries on activities on the political field, "fights" for reforms solely through legal channels. For example: It furnishes legal defense for outstanding cases of persecution of individual Negroes. In the case of lynchings its activities are almost solely confined to "investigations" and agitation for anti-lynch legislation.

The National Urban League, an organization noted for its strike-breaking activities, operates on the industrial field. Its program, according to the executive secretary, Eugene Kinckle Jones, is the "handling of the acute economic problems growing out of the presence of an increasing Negro population."

The executive boards of both of these organizations include not only white liberals but also certain out and out imperialist elements. These organizations are financed by such representatives of American finance capital as John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Julius Rosenwald. Also such imperialist agencies as the Stokeses and the Carnegie Foundation contribute to the support of these organizations.

The most acute question concerning the Negro workers at present is unemployment. The National Urban League has taken the leadership on this field with the support of all Negro reformist or-

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ganizations, churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, fraternal organizations. Already at the beginning of the crisis these organizations initiated so-called "emergency job finding campaigns." Their program included (1) the organization of separate, Jim-Crow "relief" drives for the unemployed Negro workers; (2) the representation on all fake charity and relief committees, both on a local and national scale, as well as on so-called investigation and survey committees. For an example, the Wofter Committee appointed by the Rosenwald Fund (Chicago) upon agreement with President Hoover for an "economic" survey among Negroes. T. Arnold Hill, head of the Industrial Relations Department of the National Urban League, was recently appointed by Col. Woods, director of President Hoover's "Employment" Committee as "liason" officer between this committee and the Negro group. The program of the League also includes "making jobs" for unemployed intellectuals. In this connection it seeks to get prominent capitalists to invest capital in undertakings in the Negro districts and to have these enterprises staffed by Negroes. For example: the Dunbar Apartments and the Dunbar National Bank, John D. Rockefeller institutions in Harlem.

Hand in hand with these general activities an intensification of bourgeois separatist propaganda is being carried on. Everywhere the spokesmen of the Negro bourgeoisie are appealing for greater race loyalty, race cooperation, as the foreign born and the revolutionary labor movement is being intensified.

With the deepening of the crisis and the consequent increasing of the discontent of the masses, these activities are taking new forms. Within the last few months the Negro reformists have initiated boycott movements under the slogans of "Don't trade where you cannot work," "All jobs in the Negro districts for Negroes," etc., etc. The agitation against the foreign-born and revolutionary labor movement which was already noted at the initial stages of the movement is now being put forward sharply. For instance, Oscar De Priest, millionaire congressman, is one of the staunchest supporters of the anti-foreign-born legislation proposed by the Fish Committee. In all mass meetings called by these fakers demagogic tirades are launched against the foreign-born and the revolutionary labor movement. The argument used is that the foreign-born workers are usurping the rightful places of the Negro workers in industry, and that the white revolutionary workers merely want the Negroes "to pull their chestnuts out of the fire." The real reactionary essence under all of this demagogy and crass betrayal of the Negro masses is shown in the stand of De Priest on the United States Senate food "relief" bill. On this occasion De

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Priest rejected the bill, stating that "if we believe in states' rights we should give the people of the states the right to take care of their own."

The boycott movement was first started in Chicago a few months ago by the Negro reformists. It was supported in general by the white politicians who sought to utilize this movement for political capital. Agitation was particularly sharpened against the foreign-born; these pernicious activities finally resulted in a riot, in which Negro workers, egged on by the Negro reformists and their white capitalist friends, drove foreign-born workers from a construction job. This movement was temporarily stopped in Chicago chiefly due to the activities of the Communist Party. But recently it has again been revived, and this time threatens to assume national proportions.

In New York the movement is already on foot; for example, current issues of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, as well as local Negro bourgeois papers, carry lengthy articles calling for support of the "Don't buy where you can't work" movement. The movement in New York assumes broader aspects than previous movements in other cities. Here this movement is being inspired by such elements as Roscoe Conklin Bruce, Negro representative of John D. Rockefeller interests in Harlem, James Hubert of the National Urban League, James Stephens, Negro assemblyman in the New York legislature, and a number of white Tammany Hall politicians. These elements, through Stephens, have introduced a bill in the New York state legislature "against" discrimination against Negro workers by utility companies. The bill is proposed as an amendment to the civil rights law and will make it unlawful for utility companies to discriminate against Negroes on grounds of race or color. The bill, according to Stephens, "is an answer to the prayer of the Harlem Negroes to break into the employ of the New York Telephone Company, the New York Electric Light," etc., etc.

However, even this fake gesture is negated by a stipulation that "under the provisions of the Stephens bill a Negro may seek employment of a public utility company, and may be turned down provided there is no work to be given."

On this fake issue mass meetings are being called throughout the Negro districts; calls are being made for mass support of this bill. Hand in hand with this, at all meetings vicious attacks are being made against the foreign-born workers and the revolutionary labor movement.

The purpose of all of these pernicious activities of the Negro reformists and white capitalists is obviously to narrow down the developing mass movement of the Negro toilers against increased imperialist oppression, to isolate it from the general revolutionary

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movement, and to divert it into channels harmless for the imperialists.

In making "comparisons" between the Negro and Indian bourgeoisies it is necessary to keep in mind that the Negro bourgeoisie, unlike its Indian class brothers, has little or no connection with industry. Because of the terrific oppression of the Negro masses, the Negro bourgeoisie was late in forming. Even at the present time it consists in the main of a thin stratum of capitalist business people and intellectuals. The character of the oppression of Negroes in the Black Belt militated against the development of a Negro bourgeoisie in this district. Here the surplus labor of the Negro population was gobbled up by the white ruling classes. Therefore the only chance for the development was in the cities. Arriving on the scene only in the epoch of imperialism, at which time the chief means of production and transportation were already in the hands of imperialist monopolies, the Negro bourgeoisie could not get any foothold in industries. This explains its peculiar development as a class of insurance and real estate brokers, and bankers on a small scale, with their chief sphere of activities confined to the segregated districts of the cities.

Thus the October Resolution of the C. I. states that,

> "Industrialization in the Black Belt is not, as is generally the case in colonies properly speaking, in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has in its hand the monopoly of all the industry . . ."

Thus it is clear that the basic contradiction — the contradiction between the independent capitalist development of the country under the political domination of the national bourgeoisie and the monopolist colonial policy of imperialism—is lacking in the case of the Negro bourgeoisie. The market of the Negro business men and intellectuals is almost exclusively based upon the masses in the Jim Crow districts of the cities. This almost complete dependence upon the Negro masses makes the Negro bourgeoisie interested in keeping these masses separated from the whites. It is interested in preserving the Black Belt in the cities. One of the prominent spokesmen of this group, writing in the St. Iouis *Argus* (a Negro bourgeois paper) makes the following illuminating remarks in this connection.

"Such progress as Negro business has made has been due in a large measure to its *segregated* nature. Insurance is a case in point. Had there not been segregation in insurance, it is doubtful if Negro insurance could have survived. Behind almost all of the larger Negro fortunes is this same principle of segregation."

Then under the sub-caption of "Thrive on Segregation," the writer continues:

"The monumental fortune of the late Madam Walker and Mrs.

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Malone can be accounted for upon this principle of segregation. The wealth of our professionals comes under the same explanation. The Negro has achieved most wonderfully in those segregated fields in which he has a monopoly; he had a monopoly because of race prejudice. . . . "

It is clear that this segregational interest of the Negro bourgeoisie coincides with the isolation policies of American imperialism, and lies at the basis of the collaboration activities of the Negro reformists with the latter.

These isolation tendencies of the Negro bourgeoisie are reflected in the Jim Crow nationalism of this group. Interpreting its own interests as the interests of the Negro people as a whole it attempts to rally the Negro masses in support of its class interests through slogans of "race loyalty," "race solidarity," etc., etc.

Thus the same writer quoted above says:

"Race loyalty offers the main source of hope. Those Negroes who hold that the Negro business man must measure up to the best white businessman before he need expect the Negroes' patronage, are speaking beside the point; and what is more, they are asking the Negro to lift himself by his own boot straps . . . even our chain stores in a 'cut-throat trade war' would not survive unless Negroes supported them for racial reasons."

On the other hand the Negro bourgeoisie is sensitive to national oppression of the Negroes which keeps the Negro masses at a poverty level and limits their buying power. This fact makes it interested in raising the economic and cultural level of the Negro masses. Thus hand in hand with its slogans of "race loyalty," etc., etc., it also puts forth the slogans of "social equality" (meaning by this equal opportunity), down with trade union bars, the purpose of which is to keep the Negroes in the lowest category of labor. In this interest, in raising the economic and cultural level of the masses, consists its link with the masses.

It seeks to reconcile the contradiction between its isolation interests and the interest of the masses by the following arguments: in order to secure equality, the Negroes must first gain the respect of the white people. This can only be done by the development of "race initiative." The Negroes must become economically independent as a race. Hence they must support their own business and professional people.

The whole trend of this Jim Crow nationalism is towards building up a sort of segregated group economy among the Negro masses in the cities, with the Negro bourgeoisie as intermediaries between the Negro masses and the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie. It is clear

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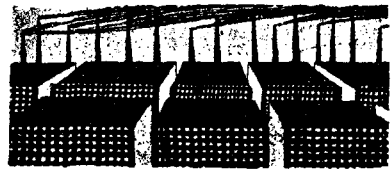
that social equality in their sense means equal communities of Negro and white peoples living side by side in the cities, but separated. A sort of Jim Crow equality. The Negro bourgeoisie never questions the actual domination of the imperialist ruling class, but on the contrary servilely accepts the position of the latter as supreme exploiter. It has waived all rights to the Black Belt, it has become more or less reconciled to the limited atmosphere imposed on it by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and with the growth of the political consciousness of the Negro toilers, the segregational face of Negro bourgeois nationalism become more pronounced.

The two strategical lines in the liberation movement of the Negro masses are becoming more and more sharply defined with the development of that movement; the line of the Negro reformist which leads to betrayal of the revolutionary movement of the masses, and the line of revolutionary solution of the Negro question to be realized through a fighting alliance of the Negro masses and the revolutionary workers, Negro and white, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The problem of petty bourgeois tendencies among Negroes will be further considered in some future issue of THE COMMUNIST.



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How We Build the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition in Germany

By F. EMMERICH

THE resolutions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress charged the German revolutionary trade union movement with a whole number of political and organizational tasks which made the convention of an All-German Conference of the Red Trade Union Opposition imperative. Never before had the resolutions of the R.I.L.U. Congresses given birth to such an outburst of enthusiasm and militancy among the revolutionary proletariat as after the Fifth Congress. The reporting campaign on the work of the Congress became a mass campaign spreading to the shops and labor exchanges. "Amsterdam or the R.I.L.U.?"—this is the crucial question that is being weighed by millions of German workers now. The resolutions of the Fifth Congress are being thrown into the masses by means of leaflets, published in millions of copies, and mass booklets. Comrade Losovsky's report and the political resolution on the organizational problem were published in the form of a brochure, of which 50,000 copies were distributed. In Germany the influence of the R.I.L.U. has spread far and wide, so that the All-German Conference of the R.T.U.O. was enabled to tackle the task of recruiting 150,000 new members by January 1. After the Congress of the R.I.L.U.—in fact by the end of November—approximately 80,000 to 90,000 new members had joined the R.T.U.O.

The All-German leadership of the R.T.U.O. convened the All-German R.T.U.O. Conference with the express purpose of laying down a definite line along which the resolutions of the Fifth Congress should be carried out in the enterprises and labor exchanges. The methods and organizational forms of the R.T.U.O. had to be concretized, as well. It is for this reason that only well-tried and responsible comrades actively participated in the work of the conference, charged with solving a number of purely practical problems. The total number of delegates and guests at the conference was 215.

THE MAIN QUESTIONS

What questions did the All-German Conference deal with? In the course of the Berlin metal workers' strike and owing to

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the fact that this strike gave birth to a unified metal workers' union, a whole number of political and organizational questions cropped up that had to be definitely answered by the conference. The attention of the conference was focused on the following three questions:

(1) The resolutions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress concerning strike strategy and tactics, and the Berlin metal workers' strike;

(2) Organizational structure of the R.T.U.O.; the establishment of an independent trade union apparatus from top to bottom;

(3) Present tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Berlin metal workers' strike, which was prepared and carried out by the R.T.U.O. along the tactical and strategical lines laid down by the Fifth Congress, may serve as an example for the whole of Germany and other countries of how, when, and in what circumstances to organize independent Red trade unions. The biggest shortcoming of the R.T.U.O., one that made it easy for the reformists to carry out their strike-breaking role during the strike of the metal workers, lay in the inadequate organization of the revolutionary forces. Only very few of the metal works in Berlin had their own shop groups of the R.T.U.O. before the Berlin strike. But, during the strike, the R.T.U.O. exerted all its energy to completely organize its forces. After the struggle had lasted for two weeks, shop groups of the R.T.U.O. were organized in 248 metal plants, embracing a total of over 14,000 members.

During the strike the broad masses of the workers were made to realize that the reformist metal workers' union was but a center of organized scabbing. The R.T.U.O. acted in full accord with the instructions of the Fifth Congress, never blocking their own way and keeping a cool head all the time. The Congress in its resolutions laid special stress on the fact that new unions may be founded only when the strike struggle is gathering force and the broad masses have fully realized the strike-breaking character of the reformist trade unions, and actively support the creation of the new union. All this fully applies to the Berlin metal workers' strike.

The foundation of a unified union of the Berlin metal workers proves that the R.T.U.O. resolutely carried out the instructions of the Fifth Congress, and fearlessly faces the howl of the reformists about "dissenters who are bribed with Moscow money"; neither is it intimidated by the opportunist deviations of certain of its supporters. The metal workers' strike has shown that, despite the violent attack of the employers and the intensified scabbing of the reformist trade union apparatus, the workers are well able to fight successful battles if the revolutionary forces have an independently organ-

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ized fighting apparatus at their disposal which is to be based in the shops themselves. This is the biggest and most important lesson the metal workers' strike taught us.

The Berlin metal workers' strike is of tremendous importance for the further development of the R.T.U.O., and points the road that will lead Germany to the establishment of militant trade union organizations and, in future, revolutionary industrial unions.

DEVELOPMENT OF R.T.U.O.

There did not exist any consistent organizational movement of the R.T.U.O. in Germany before the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress—leaving out of the question, of course, the Communist fractions. The Fifth Congress resolved that in countries such as Germany and Poland consistent and untiring work should be conducted in the field of the organization and development of the revolutionary trade union movement for the purpose of acquiring a more efficient leadership of the class struggles of the proletariat.

How is this resolution of the Fifth Congress being carried out in Germany at present? The All-German Conference cleared up all the doubtful questions existing in the field of organizational forms and the methods of work of the revolutionary trade union movement. At the moment of the Berlin metal workers strike the R.T.U.O. was still in the first stages of its organizational development in Germany. Formerly there existed only an organizational skeleton of the R.T.U.O., with more or less active organs of leadership. The organizational development of the R.T.U.O., chiefly, went along the lines of the organization of such leading organs, after the First All-German Congress. But these leading organs had neither in the shops nor in the labor exchanges a firm organizational base, without which, of course, even the most efficient leadership is unable to carry out revolutionary work among the masses.

BUILDING SHOP GROUPS

How does the R.T.U.O. organize shop groups? All the supporters of the R.T.U.O. employed in a certain enterprise are organized in a shop group. All who work for wages, irrespective of their political convictions or trade union membership or creed, all workers, salaried employees, young workers and apprentices, may become members of the R.T.U.O. if they are prepared to take up the struggle against the bosses.

The shop group elects a leadership; the number of the members of the leading organ depends upon the size of the enterprise and the number of members of the R.T.U.O. in the enterprise. Every

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shop group registers its members in the various departments of the enterprise, and according to their trade union membership. All members of the R.T.U.O. who are organized in trade unions form a shop fraction in the enterprise. Every R.T.U.O. group is to organize shop stewards in the enterprise.

Dependent upon the social composition of the workers in the shops, special women workers' committees should be established and placed under the leadership and control of the shop groups. For the purpose of carrying out systematic revolutionary work among the salaried employees, a salaried employees' committee should be organized. If the R.T.U.O. group has not yet succeeded in spreading its organizational influence among the salaried employees, the salaried employees' committee should be composed of the proletarian members of the R.T.U.O.

In shops where young workers are employed, the latter are to be formed into young workers' groups which latter are attached to the R.T.U.O. groups and are to deal with questions having a special bearing upon the youth. The young workers' shop group elects its own leading organ, which is to include also one member of the leadership of the R.T.U.O. shop group. The young workers are to elect special young workers' shop stewards at meetings of young workers in the various departments of the shop.

The R.T.U.O. shop group is to establish close contact with the unemployment committee of its district. The representatives of unemployed workers are to attend the meetings of the leadership of the shop group and the general meetings of its members.

In towns, or districts of towns, where there exist only small enterprises, where several industrial groups have been organized, all these groups are to be unified into one or several shop groups.

All the members of a shop group, with the exception of those who are members of the revolutionary union, get their membership cards at the industrial R.T.U.O. group in which they are registered.

The resolutions of the shop group are obligatory on all members, functionaries, and R.T.U.O. rank-and-file organs in the shop (the revolutionary members of the shop committee, shop stewards, young workers' groups, salaried employees' and women workers' committee).

The shops, the political and organizational occupation of which is the principal task of the R.T.U.O., are to form the foundation for the organization of the whole revolutionary trade union movement. Our aims of gaining a firm organizational foothold in the shops and in the smallest departments necessitate a vigorous and energetic struggle being taken up for the vital interests of the workers, on the basis of the revolutionary united front policy.

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WORK OF INDUSTRIAL GROUPS

The R.T.U.O. organizations embracing all shop groups, including the unemployed workers, are in every separate branch of industry united into an industrial group exercising the leadership of the economic struggle against the bosses and the reactionary trade union apparatus. Thus, an industrial group carries out the same functions as the reformist trade unions did formerly when they still stood on the platform of the class struggle.

A local leadership is elected for leading and controlling the general work and struggle of the industrial group. It is obvious that the majority of the workers can be won over to the side of the R.T.U.O. only if efficient revolutionary work is carried out by the leadership of the industrial group.

One of the most important tasks of the local industrial group is the organization of revolutionary fractionary activities within the reactionary trade unions.

The resolutions of the Fifth Congress stipulate that a most relentless struggle is to be waged against all tendencies of stopping work within the reformist trade unions. Such tendencies, undoubtedly, exist among the revolutionary workers. The All-German Conference adopted a clear-cut decision in this respect. The R.T.U.O. declares a relentless war upon the liquidating tendencies that aim at relinquishing our positions without struggle within the reactionary trade unions. Just at the present moment, when millions of reformist workers have found out themselves that the reformist trade union apparatus is but a scabbing agency, it would be an unpardonable political blunder to deviate even slightly from the line laid down in the Fifth Congress resolution. In Germany the situation is now strained to the breaking point, and the revolutionary trade union opposition by means of intensified activities within the trade unions may accelerate the ideologic and organizational bankruptcy of the Amsterdam trade unions and deal them a mortal blow.

The industrial group includes also the independent trade unions that crop up in the course of the struggle or in consequence of a split; these unions also compose a part of the R.T.U.O. The revolutionary trade unions in Germany are also obliged to base their organizations on the shops, according to the resolutions of the Fifth Congress. In distinction to the R.T.U.O. groups, the groups of the Red trade unions in the shops are called shop sections.

The local leadership of the industrial group is made responsible for the whole political and trade union work of the R.T.U.O. shop groups, fractions, Red trade unions, and within the reactionary trade unions of the respective branch of industry.

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DEPARTMENTAL OUTLINE

In full accord with the role and aims of the industrial groups, their leading organs are composed of workers, salaried employees, women, unemployed workers, and young workers. In agreement with the general orientation towards industrial unions, the R.T.U.O. organizes the salaried employees also, into shop groups of the branch of industry in which they work. Two new industrial groups of employees have been created for enterprises employing almost exclusively clerks.

Thus we arrive at the following scheme of industrial groups:

Industrial Group of Metal Workers; of Miners; of Municipal Workers, Civil Servants; Transport Workers; of Railwaymen; of Building Workers; of Textile Workers and Needle Workers; of Clerks of Department Stores (General Stores); of the big and small trading enterprises; of Bank and Insurance Clerks.

The creation of local industrial groups and the development of a militant revolutionary leadership of these groups are necessary prerequisites for the organization of economic struggles and the foundation of Red industrial unions.

In the center of every economic district, the district leading organ of the industrial groups is elected. Every industrial group elects its leadership on a nation-wide scale; the leadership is responsible for the whole scope of activities of the industrial group, and for the struggle against the employers and the trade union bureaucracy all over Germany. The All-German leadership is elected at the All-German Conference of the respective industrial groups. The organizational structure of the industrial groups is, consequently, the following:

(1) The shop group; (2) the local industrial group; (3) the district leadership of the industrial group; and (4) the All-German leadership of industrial groups.

AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

With the extreme sharpening of the class struggle the organizational crystallization of the millions of unemployed workers has been entirely inadequate until now and in no way guarantees the systematic participation of the unemployed workers in the general struggle of the proletariat. The Fifth Congress charged all sections of the R.I.L.U. with the task of intensifying their work among the unemployed. Therefore, the R.T.U.O. has now taken in hand the organization of unemployed workers and groups of unemployed in the labor exchanges. The formation of unemployed groups on the territorial principle may be admitted only in exception-

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al cases. The R.T.U.O. unemployment groups are to organize meetings among the unemployed workers, at which unemployed committees of the united front of the R.T.U.O. are elected. The members of the R.T.U.O. who are elected to the unemployment committee become, at the same time, the leading organ of the unemployment group. These groups are also to appoint a staff of functionaries.

In order to more efficiently carry out the work among the unemployed workers, committees entrusted with carrying out work among women, or salaried employees, or young workers, are to be organized in accordance with the composition of the unemployed registered at the respective labor exchange.

In large towns where there exist several labor exchanges, the unemployed committees of the various labor exchanges are to elect a common local unemployed committee.

The leadership of organizational activities among the unemployed workers of a certain district is entrusted to a district committee elected by the district conference of unemployed workers.

The whole scope of activities among unemployed workers on a national scale lies in the hands of the All-German unemployed committee, which is elected by the All-German unemployed conference. The general organizational structure of the unemployed movement is the following:

(1) Unemployed groups in the labor exchanges;
(2) Local unemployed committee;
(3) District unemployed committee;
(4) All-German unemployed committee.

LEADING TERRITORIAL ORGANS

The territorial leading organs are responsible for the revolutionary activities in all industrial groups and among the unemployed workers. They lead and control the whole works. These organs also include the representatives of the most important industrial groups; the representatives are granted a vote. The territorial leading organs are the following:

(1) The local R.T.U.O. committee.
(2) The district R.T.U.O. committee.
(3) The All-German R.T.U.O. committee

Special committees of responsible leaders are to be charged with supervising various branches of work so as to safeguard the efficient

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performance of the tasks with which the R.T.U.O. is charged. The work may be divided as follows:

(a) Organization questions.
(b) Agitation and propaganda.
(c) The unemployed movement.
(d) Shop committees and labor legislation.
(e) R.T.U.O. press.
(f) Social politics.
(g) Women workers' movement.
(h) The young workers' movement.
(i) Complaints, financial questions, inspection.

This division of labor is to be carried out in all leading organs of the R.T.U.O., in accordance with the available staff. Unemployed workers, women workers, salaried employees, young workers, and revolutionary unions are to have their representatives in all leading organs of the R.T.U.O.

PRESS AND PROPAGANDA

In the field of organization and propaganda, the press is one of the most important factors of the R.T.U.O. Therefore, the R.T.U.O. has begun the issuing of organs with a mass circulation. In principle, every industrial group should issue only one central organ, the special requirements and conditions of big industrial districts being reflected in supplements issued by the central organs. But the unemployed papers are an exception to the rule concerning the centralization of the press. Owing to the peculiar conditions of the unemployed movement, district papers of the unemployed will be issued. Members of the R.T.U.O. as well as the members of the revolutionary unions and unemployed workers are to subscribe both to the unemployed paper and the revolutionary paper of their own industrial group. The subscription rate for the paper is to be included in the membership fee of the R.T.U.O. Besides the newspapers, to which all members of the R.T.U.O. are obliged to subscribe, the press of the R.T.U.O. is also distributed in the enterprises and labor exchanges. While the R.T.U.O. papers were issued on the average once a month until now, they in future will appear twice a month.

In order to finance the militant actions and the upkeep of the apparatus, the All-German conference resolved to collect regular monthly membership fees from all members of the R.T.U.O. The rates are the following:

(a) 30 pfennig per week for unorganized workers and those who are expelled from trade unions;

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(b) 20 pfennig per week for women and those who work short time;

c) 10 pfennig per week for agricultural laborers and all members of trade unions;

(d) 5 pfennig for apprentices and unemployed workers.

These membership fees have only an organizational and political significance, as the R.T.U.O. does not enter into any obligations for the payment of strike or other benefits.

GUIDED BY THE PARTY

The All-German Conference laid special stress on the fact that politically the R.T.U.O. is inseparable from the Communist Party and recognizes the latter as its leader. From an organizational point of view, the R.T.U.O. in Germany, beginning with the shop group and up to the All-German committee, creates its own entirely independent militant trade union apparatus.

The fact that the All-German Conference of the R.T.U.O. paid particular attention to the creation of a fighting apparatus is to be explained by the experience gained during the last struggle when it became apparent that the R.T.U.O. was organizationally very weak. The sympathy of the masses alone will not help us very much unless it takes on organizational forms for the purpose of strengthening the revolutionary opposition.

The present situation shows with indisputable clearness the discrepancy between our political influence and the organizational power of the R.T.U.O. movement. It is quite clear that with the cropping up of new tasks to be performed by the R. T. U. O., the fighting efficiency of its organization and its apparatus will have to be increased. The development of the revolutionary trade union fighting organization, to which many thousands of functionaries of the R.T.U.O. are now applying all their energies in Germany, is not an aim in itself, but only the means to attain our aims. The organization is being created in order to enable us to wage the struggle for our militant demands with greater vigor and determination.

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The Role of the Red Army in Civil War and Reconstruction

WHY THE RED ARMY WAS VICTORIOUS

WE can find an exhaustive answer to this question in the works of Comrade Lenin. The first and fundamental reason for the victory of the Proletarian Republic was the leadership of the Bolshevik Party—the vanguard of the working class.

> "Without the Party, steeled and tempered in the struggle, without a Party which was trusted by all the honest members of its class, without a party which could observe the moods of the masses and influence them, it would be impossible to carry on such a struggle."

This was written by Comrade Lenin in April, 1920, when summing up the whole struggle for the Soviet power.

The Bolshevik Party sent the majority of its members into the army. From December, 1918, to August 15, 1920, 30,000 political workers were sent to the army through the organs of the Political Military Commission. Many were sent to the front by the local organizations.

By October, 1919, the number of Communists in the army had reached 120,000. By August 1, 1920, there were 7,000 nuclei, with 300,000 members and candidates in the whole army. The Party sent its best forces into the army.

The old Bolshevik, a proletarian of the Don Basin, Comrade Voroshiloff, together with Comrade Budenny, was at the head of the First Cavalry Army. In the army there was also Comrade Frunze, the organizer of the victory at Perekop, and afterwards the People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs.

Comrade Stalin, one of the strongest of the Bolsheviks, was sent to the most dangerous parts of the front.

Comrade Voroshiloff was the beloved leader of the Lugansk workers and raised the Red Don Basin—the Soviet Ruhr. Voroshiloff was the hero of the defense of Tsaritsin. With the iron will of a Bolshevik he cemented together and led to victory the peasants and Cossack regiments of the First Cavalry Army. Under the leadership of Voroshiloff and Budenny the First Cavalry Army dealt devastating blows to the bands of Denikin and drove them back to the Black Sea.

Comrade Frunze organized the first victories over Kolchak. He

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crushed the counter-revolution in Turkestan. The grey hairs of Frunze are the reminders of the time when the sea began to cover the Red regiments who were fording the salt marshes. But the Red commander did not hesitate but fearlessly led his divisions to the attack, and Perekop fell. Comrade Frunze was several times wounded in his fights with the Whites.

Comrade Stalin was of inestimable service to his Party and brought about a change in the fatal strategic plan of the specialists and of Trotsky, who wished to move the army over the Cossack steppes instead of taking them through the industrial centers, through the Don Basin, where the Red Army was awaited by the harassed workers.

Comrade Stalin's plan was successful. Stalin was sent to Tsaritsin, to Perm, to the southern front, to the sections which were most decisive, at any moment. Stalin crushed anarchy and restored the situation and led the regiments to the fight.

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The role of the working class in assuring victory in the civil war is characterized by the following statement issued by Lenin in April, 1919:

> "We must know without question that only with the assistance of the forces of the working class can we get firmly on to our feet. We must defend our conquests and therefore all the best forces of our proletariat must be sent to the front. Up to the present the army has suffered from being insufficiently welded together, insufficiently organized, and in this matter assistance must come from the workers, and we must place all our hopes on them. The workers who have gone through the whole struggle, who can explain all that they have suffered, only such an army can convert the peasants into class-conscious fighters such as are necessary for us."

Only the firm fighting union of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was able to guarantee the victory of the Red Army.

> "It was only owing to the fact that our Civil War was carried on by workers and peasants, who had liberated themselves, that we found people of strong will who, in the course of two years, were able to carry on this war under conditions of unbelievable difficulties. There is no doubt that this is a proof that the firm forces of the workers and peasants who have freed themselves from the yoke of the capitalists, will work miracles." (Lenin's speech, November, 1919.)

SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT

The support of the international proletariat was of tremendous importance for the victory of the Russian workers. In many cases

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foreign soldiers refused to fight against the Red Army. The workers of the world will not forget Comrade Marty with whose name they link up the refusal of the French sailors to fire on the Soviet coast towns. The imperialists were compelled to withdraw their soldiers from Russia because they were being gradually "infected" with Bolshevism. The European proletarians greatly hindered the imperialists from giving assistance to the Russian counter-revolution. Several times the English transport workers refused to move ammunition for the White General Denikin; the German workers prevented the dispatch of ammunition for Poland during the Soviet-Polish war.

Speaking of the victory of the Red Army over the military forces of the enemy, which were greatly superior, Lenin answers the ques tion of how this could happen in the following words:

> "This could happen, and did happen, because the proletariat in all capitalist countries were for us." (Lenin's speech, March, 1921).
>
> "We received direct and rapid assistance to such an extent that this support by the workers and peasants of all the world, and even in the countries which were most hostile to us—all this was the most decisive cause of the failure of the efforts which were directed against us." (Lenin's speech at the Ninth Congress of the Soviets.)

MASSES FIGHT BECAUSE THEY KNOW

The Red Army was victorious because every soldier well knew what he was fighting for, what he was giving his life for. This thought was well expressed by Lenin in his speech in March, 1919:

> "A Prussian king in the 18th century cleverly said: 'If our soldiers understood for what we are fighting, we would not be able to carry on a single war.' This old Prussian monarch was no fool. But we can now say, when comparing our situation with the situation of that king: 'We can carry on a war because the masses know what they are fighting for, and wish to fight, in spite of the unbearable difficulties (I repeat that the difficulties of the war are now greater than under Tsarism), knowing that they are making desperate and unheard of sacrifices defending their Socialist cause, fighting alongside the workers of other countries who are beginning to understand our situation."

The history of the revolution was reconstructed in 1929 on a small scale in the Far East and assured the historic victory of the Red Army. The defeats inflicted on the Chinese troops by the Red Army under Comrade Blucher are worthy of the best revolutionary traditions of the Civil War.

As soon as the first shots were heard from the Chinese frontiers, a storm of revolutionary indignation and enthusiasm swept over the whole country. A spontaneous flood of volunteers flowed into the

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Far Eastern Army in spite of the fact that there was no need of volunteers. The special army was well able to cope with its tasks.

The conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railroad called forth industrial enthusiasm in the factories. The peasants began to haul grain to Soviet elevators at a greater rate. Train-loads of presents from the workers were sent to the regiments in the special army. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of greetings received by post and telegraph raised the spirits of the fighters. The soldiers and commanders in the battles competed in heroism and in readiness for self-sacrifice. Many non-Party Red Army men, when entering the fight, stated that they would die Communists. During the fights Red Army men made applications to join the Party. Communists and YCL-ers were in the first ranks in the fights and gave examples of revolutionary steadfastness.

RED ARMY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

The civil war ended. The Soviet Republic began to heal the deep wounds which had been inflicted on its national economy by foreign intervention and by civil war. In 1920 a start was made in demobilizing the Red Army which had reached a strength of 5,000,000. The size of the army was gradually reduced and now it consists of 562,000 men.

From year to year the industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union were successfully restored. Then began the reconstruction period. The correct Leninist policy of the Communist Party, which carried on an irreconcilable struggle against the right and "left" opportunists, assured the greatest success for Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and hastened the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. On the basis of full collectivization, there is going on the liquidation of the last important exploiting class—the kulaks. In the villages, the collective farmers have become a firm support of the Soviet power. In the Soviet Union there are no unemployed to be found at the present time. The number of industrial and office workers has reached 16,000,000, increasing by 2,000,000 last year.

The third and decisive year of the Five-Year Plan will be the year in which the foundation of the Socialist society will be constructed.

DANGER OF NEW INTERVENTION

From year to year there is a growing danger of a new intervention against the land of the Soviets.

Every year sees new threats by the imperialists, new proofs of their readiness for a military attack on the Soviet Union. The murder of Vorovsky in Switzerland, of Voikov in Poland, the ultimatum

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of Curzon, raids on the Soviet trade representatives in London and Berlin, the furious arming of the capitalists, the Polish-Rumanian military alliance directed against the U.S.S.R., are all indications of the gathering danger of intervention. The Far-Eastern conflict in 1929 was an outpost skirmish, an attempt to commence a new anti-Soviet intervention. The recent trial of Ramsin and the other wreckers of the "Industrial Party" fully exposed the interventionist plans of the imperialists, principally French capital and French military circles.

The feverish war preparations of the imperialists, the growth of the war danger is vividly shown by figures:

The strength of the Red Army at the present time is 562,000 men, but the armies of the neighboring countries in the west are three times more than the Red Army and consist of 1,500,000 men, while the population of these countries is only one-third of the population of the U.S.S.R.

During the last five years, the armies of the western countries have increased by 17 per cent, while during this period the Red Army has been reduced by 20 per cent.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin briefly but sufficiently strongly formulated the peaceful desires of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, he showed their readiness to defend the revolution: "We do not want an inch of foreign soil but we will not yield a fragment of our own." An equally categoric call for peace was made by the new President of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Molotov, at the last session of the Central Executive Committee.

Foreign workers who have been in the U.S.S.R. are extremely astonished at this phenomenon. They have seen the Red Army regiments carrying placards and peace slogans. An army with banners demanding peace is a wonderful symbol.

On December 21, 1921, Lenin spoke at the Ninth Congress of Soviets—the last which he visited—and said:

> "We say to ourselves, having undertaken peaceful construction, we shall make every effort to carry it on without a break. At the same time, comrades, be vigilant, preserve the defenses of our country and our Red Army as the apple of your eyes."

The C.P.S.U. and the Soviets have remained loyal to this behest of the leader. Since the termination of the civil war, the Party and the organs of the Soviet government have not tired in their efforts for the Red Army, owing to which we find it is being continually perfected.

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STRENGTHENING THE RED ARMY

The Sixteenth Party Congress especially emphasized the tasks of defense and the future strengthening of the Red Army. The resolution on the report of the Central Committee says:

> "The Congress instructs the C.C. in future to carry on a firm and determined peace policy and to strengthen the contacts and improve the solidarity of the workers and toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. with the workers and toiling masses of capitalist countries and the colonies.
>
> "In view of the necessity of the further development of economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world on the basis of the unquestionable preservation of the monopoly of foreign trade and the most extensive utilization of the technique of the foremost capitalist countries in order to hasten the industrialization of the U.S.S.R., the Congress emphasizes the importance of Bolshevist tempos in social industrialization of the country in order to assure the economic independence of the U.S.S.R. for strengthening the defenses of the Proletarian government and for repulsing every attempt at intervention by international imperialism."

COMMANDERS

In the first years of its existence, the Red Army had in its ranks a considerable number of previous officers. Many of them turned traitors to the Red Army, but a great part of the previous officers served the working class honestly. The best of these old cadres, who had been tried in struggle, remained in the Army after demobilization. Still further, during the years of peaceful construction there has gone on an energetic collection of new commanders, cadres consisting of workers and peasants who have received military education in special schools, in academies, and at courses for specialists. All this has made it possible to pass on to the basis of unified command, to abolish the control over the commanders by the military commissars. At the Third Congress of Soviets, Comrade Frunze formulated the importance of responsible commanders, as follows:

> "We have in our ranks commanders who are Party members and who are not Party members. Both of these sections are distinguished by the deepest loyalty to the cause of revolution and the Workers' and Peasants' Government. This is why we consider them of equal value and our attitude is the same to both categories. This has made it possible to commence the liquidation of the Institute of Commissars and proceed in the direction of the establishment of single commanders. This principle is carried out in the army in two forms. We have one type of commander in the persons of the commanders who are Party members and unite the functions of military chiefs and business managers with the functions of Party and political educationalists. The second type consists of commanders who are not

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> Party members and, therefore, cannot direct Party organizations in the army, but, they are responsible for the cultural and educational training of the Red Army men, and they carry out fully the policy of the government on all questions of military training and business management."

At the present time, the principle of responsible commanders has been introduced almost fully into the army. Here are figures which clearly show the class composition of the commanders of the Red Army on January 1, 1930:

Commanders: Industrial workers 31 per cent, office workers 35 per cent, peasants 34 per cent. Fifty-three per cent are members of the Communist Party and 4 per cent members of the Y.C.L. Half of the commanders served in the civil war.

REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE

The Party and the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R. have paid a great deal of attention and devoted much energy to establish a firm, iron discipline in the Army. *But the discipline of the Red Army is absolutely different from that in any bourgeois army.* This is how Comrade Frunze defined the proletarian, revolutionary idea of discipline in the Red Army. Frunze mentioned three conditions which are the "only guarantees of strict and conscious discipline":

> "The first condition is the resoluteness and firmness of the commanders and political leaders. The second condition is the preservation of a living organizational contact between these commanders and the mass of Red Army men. The third condition is that all the Red Army men should see in practice the correctness of our leadership. Only the existence of these conditions will form the groundwork on which the military training of the Army will give the necessary results and will lead to the formation of a strong, firmly-welded, class-conscious, revolutionary disciplined armed force. It is only by advancing along this Leninist path that we can obtain a real strong, iron discipline in the ranks of the Red Army."

This is the basis of the discipline in the Red Army which explains the great demands made on the commanders, the unhesitating fulfillment of orders by all subordinates, strict responsibility for military crimes, and in addition to this, a comradely attitude between commanders and Red Army men in the barracks. When off duty, the commander is just a comrade in arms. The commanders, together with the Red Army men, take part in sports and in social work. The commander is compelled always to be courteous to the Red Army men, to use polite forms of address, and insulting remarks or physical violence are punished by the regulations. It is not

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at all wonderful that the Red Army men assist the commanders and the Party organizations in the regiments to put pressure on any expression of bad discipline and take measures to remedy them quickly and completely. The community of class interests of workers and peasants in the ranks of the Red Army—the correct leadership of the Party, the fine example of the revolutionary commanders—all this assures that there will be not only iron discipline but conscious revolutionary discipline in the Red Army.

On January 1, 1930, the Red Army had a considerable proportion of proletarians in its ranks (31 per cent workers, 58 per cent peasants, and the remainder office workers). A great class turn-over has taken place in the country. The ranks of the working class have grown on the basis of rapid industrialization. The success of full collectivization has increased the base of support of the Soviets in the country (collective farmers) and all this, from year to year, binds the class Red Army more and more together and converts it, under the leadership of the Party, into an invincible weapon for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The greatest role in the strengthening of the class unity of the Red Army, and its might, is played by the *Leninist line of the Party on the national question.* It is correctly reflected in the structure of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic.

The Red Army has many national divisions and regiments. The national detachments carry on all their work, and commands are given, in the national language of the soldiers. For these regiments military newspapers and literature are published in their own language. The slightest expressions of Russian chauvinism or local nationalism in the Red Army are energetically resisted in the same way as any other attack by the class enemy.

INTERNATIONAL SPIRIT

Every fighter in the Red Army from day to day is trained as a *soldier in the army of the world revolution, in the spirit of revolutionary international solidarity.*

The Red Army men understood during the Civil War that the Red Army, when defending the Soviets, was assisting the world revolution. They saw the support given by foreign revolutionary workers. At the present time, in the Red Army, many divisions bear the names of foreign Communist Parties—as German, Italian, French, British or Czechoslovakian.

The Red Army men are members of the W.I.R. and they willingly pay from their small incomes to assist the striking workers of the west. Every Red Army man is deeply interested in the events

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which are taking place in other countries, and every day closely watches the development of the world revolutionary movement.

Comrade Stalin points out three special features of the Red Army:

> "The first and basic peculiarity of our Red Army is the fact that it is an army of liberated workers and peasants, it is the Army of the October Revolution, the Army of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The second and third peculiarities are those which distinguish the Red Army as the army of international solidarity. This is how Comrade Stalin speaks of the last two peculiarities of the Red Army:

> "The second peculiarity of the Red Army is the fact that it is the army of fraternization of peoples, the army of liberation of oppressed peoples, the army for the defense of the freedom and independence of our country.
>
> "In the old times, the army was usually trained in the spirit of chauvinism, in the spirit of aggression, in the spirit of repression of other nations. This explains why the armies of the old type, the armies of the capitalists, were always colonial armies (i. e., armies for seizing and oppressing colonies). This was the greatest weakness of the old army.
>
> "Our army radically differs from the colonial armies. The whole of its structure and make-up is founded on the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the peoples of our country, on the idea of liberating oppressed peoples, on the idea of the defense of the freedom and independence of the Socialist Republics which form the Soviet Union. This forms the second and principal source of the strength and might of our Red Army. This is the guarantee that our army at a critical moment will receive tremendous support among the masses of all nationalities who populate the limitless expanses of our country.
>
> "Finally, the third peculiarity of the Red Army consists of the spirit of internationalism and the feelings of internationalism which have penetrated it throughout.
>
> "In the capitalist countries the army is usually trained in a spirit of hate to other people, in a spirit of hate to other countries, in a spirit of hate towards the workers and peasants of other lands. Why is this done? In order to convert the army into an obedient herd in case of war between governments, between the powers, between the countries. This is the source of the weakness of all capitalist armies.
>
> "Our army is built on other principles. The strength of the Red Army is that it was trained in the spirit of internationalism from the very day of its birth, in the spirit of respect for other peoples, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all lands, in the spirit of the preservation of peace between countries. And it is just because our army is trained in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of unity of interests of the workers of all countries, that our army is the army of the world revolution, the army of the workers of all countries."

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IN THE FAR EASTERN CLASH

A brilliant example of proletarian internationalism was given by the troops of the special Far Eastern Army in their unavoidable battles with the Chinese White Guards. Even the bourgeois newspapers of China and of the whole world were compelled to talk about the friendly attitude of the troops in the Red Army towards the civil population, their special care for the workers in the Chinese towns which were temporarily occupied by the Red Army. Chinese soldiers who were taken prisoners were well received by the Red Army men. There were many cases when Red Army men, in the course of a fight, took off their overcoats to cover wounded Chinese soldiers. After such things, it is not to be wondered at that when the prisoners were released, they returned to the Red Regiments on the following day, bringing a whole company with them. Even the ignorant, declassed elements among the Chinese soldiers, under the influence of such convincing international propaganda, gave themselves up, showing their calloused hands. They wanted to show by this that they understood the call "Workers of the World Unite."

Thousands of captured Chinese soldiers, on returning to their own country, cried, as they crossed the border, "Long live the Bolsheviks, Long live the Soviets."

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Whence did the Red Army men obtain such a high stage of political development and such class consciousness? The Red Army men are mostly from the villages and frequently are illiterate when they come to the army. But the Red Army is a fighting revolutionary school for them. The Party organizations in the army, the commanders and the political workers, pay most attention to the preparation of efficient soldiers, but always work proceeds on the basis of the political education of the Red Army men, explaining to them the immediate tasks of the Party, of Socialist construction, and of the world revolutionary movement. Every day, in every regiment, there are not only lessons in shooting, tactics, maneuvers, but also political lessons. The most important political questions of the day are discussed at meetings. The Red Army men are invited to open meetings of the Party and the Y.C.L. Some Party members and YCL-ers are attached to individual non-Party men to educate them politically, to draw into the Party, or the Y.C.L., the best elements from the workers and peasants.

In every regiment there is a club, a theater, a movie, a library, and a reading room. In every unit there is a special school to liquidate the illiteracy or semi-illiteracy of the Red Army men. Every

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company has a wall newspaper and every regiment has a printed newspaper. The Red Army men themselves elect the editorial board and the management boards of the clubs. Every military district and every separate army have their daily printed newspapers —there are 100,000 such military correspondents in the army. This figure alone indicates the high political activity of the Red Army men.

The every-day influence of the proletariat is of great importance for the political education of the Red Army men. This influence is brought to bear not only through the Party organizations and the commanders, but by *"patronage" over Red Army units by workers' organizations.* The worker-patrons in some factory attach themselves to some unit, visit it, study its life, invite Red Army men to visit their factories. The workers and Red Army men hold entertainments together. In addition, the workers give material assistance to their "patronees," provide comfortable fittings for the barracks, improve the cultural institutions in the units. The workers and Red Army men undertake mutual obligations; the former to improve industry, and the latter to improve the fighting powers of the units.

In turn, the Red Army men patronize villages, so as to assist in their Socialist reconstruction. In this case, the Red Army masses are themselves the means of spreading proletarian influence in the Soviet villages.

SELF-CRITICISM IN THE RED ARMY

Red Army men are not only subordinates, but they are called on to assist in the construction of the Red Army as a whole. Hence, we have the phenomena which are so astonishing for the bourgeois world—self-criticism, Socialist contests, and shock brigades, the inventive movement in the ranks of the Red Army. Of course, there are limits to self-criticism. It is not allowed to criticize an order which demands military secrecy, but everyone, from the rank and file to the highest commander, is subject to criticism. In the army, as among the working masses of the U.S.S.R., only one thing is demanded from critics—that criticism shall not be hostile to the working class, but shall serve to strengthen the power of the Red Army. Red Army papers, from the company journal to the organ of the Revolutionary Military Council, use the materials from the soldier-correspondents, point out shortcomings, and demand their removal.

The highest and most constructive form of self-criticism—Socialist competition and shock tactics—are widely spread in the Red Army just as among the working class. While exposing short-

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comings, striving towards the highest results in the military training of Red Army men, competitions for the best achievements are carried out under the leadership of the commanders and political workers. Competitions take place between individual Red Army men, between platoons and companies, between regiments and divisions. The best Red Army men and the best units form themselves into shock brigades. And woe to the shock brigadier who lowers the tempo or quality of his work. He is deprived of the honorable title of shock brigadier and receives sharp social condemnation.

In answer to the demands of the commanders, the Red Army men sometimes put forward a "counter" plan, i. e., they themselves increase the demands made on them and undertake to surpass the quota which is required.

Red Army men are also included in the rationalization and inventive movement in the army. Red Army men make hundreds and thousands of suggestions to improve the organization of work in the units. Red Army men have made many valuable military inventions.

Having passed through such an excellent political school, the Red Army men return from the Army to their villages frequently unrecognizably more cultured, and *active builders of Socialism.*

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Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

Theses of Comrade Lenin adopted by the First Congress of the Communist International, March, 1919.

Translated by N. SPARKS

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in every country has driven the bourgeoisie and their agents in the working class organizations to the most convulsive efforts to find ideological-political arguments for the defense of the rule of the exploiters. Among those arguments they raise particularly the condemnation of dictatorship and the defense of democracy. The falsity and hypocrisy of such an argument, which the capitalist press and the Conference of the Yellow International in Berne in February, 1919, repeat in a thousand different ways, is clear however, to everybody who is not bent upon betraying the basic principles of Socialism.

2. In the first place this line of argument operates with the concepts of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general," without putting the question of their class character. Such a method of putting the question as outside or above the class standpoint, as if it were a standpoint of "the whole people," shows a direct contempt for the basic teaching of Socialism, namely, the teaching of the class struggle which, while recognized in words by the Socialists who have gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, is forgotten in their deeds. For in none of the civilized capitalist countries does there exist such a thing as "democracy in general." There exists only bourgeois democracy. And we are not talking of "dictatorship in general," but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, that is the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, that is the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of overcoming the resistance which the exploiters put up in the fight to maintain their rule.

3. History teaches that no oppressed class has ever come to power or could have come to power, without going through a period of dictatorship, that is the conquest of the political power and the forceful suppression of the desperate, savage resistance which is always offered by the exploiters and which stops at nothing—not even the greatest crimes. The bourgeoisie, whose rule is now defended by the Socialists, who come out against "dictatorship in general" and

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fight body and soul for "democracy in general," conquered its power in the civilized countries through a series of revolts and civil wars, through forceful suppression of the absolute monarchies, the feudal slave-holders, and their attempts at restoration. Thousands, nay millions of times have the Socialists of every country analyzed for the people in their books and pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their agitational speeches, the class character of these bourgeois revolutions. Thus the present defense of "bourgeois democracy" by speeches about "democracy in general" and the present alarm against the dictatorship of the proletariat by howls about "dictatorship in general," are direct treachery to Socialism, actual crossing over into the camp of the bourgeoisie, denial of the right of the proletariat to its proletarian revolution, a defense of bourgeois reformism exactly at the historical moment when bourgeois reformism has broken down throughout the whole world and when the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4. All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarism, have proclaimed the idea, which was expressed with the most scientific precision by Marx and Engels, that the bourgeois democratic republic is nothing but a machine for the oppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie—of the masses of workers by a handful of capitalists. There is not one single Marxist among those who now raise the alarm against dictatorship and stand up for democracy, who has not sworn by all that's holy before the workers, that he acknowledges this basic truth of Socialism. But now that a whole ferment and movement has begun among the revolutionary proletariat, directed towards the annihilation of this machine of oppression and winning the dictatorship of the proletariat, these traitors to Socialism present the thing as though the bourgeoisie had presented the workers with "pure democracy," as if the bourgeoisie had renounced any resistance and is inclined to submit to the majority of the toilers; as if there was not and is not in the democratic republic any state apparatus for the suppression of the workers by capital.

5. The Paris Commune, which, in words, is celebrated by all who wish to be considered Socialists (for they know that the working masses have great and sincere sympathy for it) showed with particular clearness the historical limitation and the restricted worth of bourgeois parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy, which in comparison with the middle ages are highly progressive, but which in the period of the proletarian revolution inevitably undergo basic

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transformations. In particular Marx, who more than any other valued the historical significance of the Commune, proved in his analysis of the latter the exploiting character of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, which gives the oppressed class the right once in several years to decide which delegate of the possessing classes shall represent and misrepresent the people in parliament. It is just at this moment when the Soviet movement, which has swept over the whole world, carries forward before everybody's eyes the cause of the Commune, that the traitors to Socialism forget the practical experience and the concrete teachings of the Paris Commune and repeat the old bourgeois swindle of "democracy in general." The Commune was not a parliamentary affair.

6. The significance of the Commune consists further in that it made the attempt to smash the bourgeois state apparatus, the apparatus of officials, courts, military, and police, to destroy it fundamentally and to replace it by the self-ruling mass organizations of the workers which know of no separation of legislative and executive powers. All bourgeois democratic republics of our time, including the German, which, with complete contempt for the truth, is classified as proletarian by the traitors to Socialism, maintain this bourgeois state apparatus. This shows again and again, clearly and distinctly, that the howls about defense of "democracy in general" represent nothing but the defense of the bourgeoisie and their privileges as exploiters.

7. We can take the "freedom of assembly" as an example of the demands of "pure democracy." Every conscious worker who has not broken with his class understands immediately that it would be nonsense to promise the exploiters freedom of assemblage in the period and situation when they are resisting their overthrow and defending their privileges. The bourgeoisie, when it was a revolutionary class, neither in England in 1649 nor in France in 1793, gave the monarchists and nobles freedom of assemblage when they were calling foreign troops into the country and were "assembling" in order to organize an attempt at restoration. If the present bourgeoisie, which has long since become reactionary, demands of the proletariat that it shall guarantee in advance "freedom of assemblage" for the exploiters without regard to what resistance the capitalists will set up against their expropriation, the workers will merely laugh at such hypocrisy on the part of the bourgeoisie.

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On the other hand, the workers know perfectly well that "freedom of assemblage" even in the democratic bourgeois republics is nothing but an empty phrase, for the rich have the best public and private buildings at their disposal, have also sufficient free time for meetings, and enjoy the protection of the bourgeois state apparatus. The city and country proletarians, as well as the poor peasantry—that is the overwhelming majority of the population—have neither the first, nor the second, nor the third. As long as this keeps on "equality," that is "pure democracy," is a swindle. To obtain real equality, to make democracy a reality for the workers, we must first take away from the exploiters all the fine public and private buildings; we must obtain leisure for the workers; and it is necessary that the freedom of their meetings should be protected by armed workers and not by the sons of nobles or officers from capitalist circles with intimidated soldiers.

Only after such a change can one speak of equality without showing contempt for the toiling people, for the poor. This change, however, can be brought about by none other than the advance guard of the toiling masses, the proletariat, which overthrows the exploiters, the bourgeoisie.

8. "Freedom of the press" is another one of the main slogans of "pure democracy." Yet the workers know, and the Socialists of all countries have admitted millions of times, that this freedom is a swindle, as long as the best printing plants and the greatest supplies of paper remain in the hands of the capitalists, and as long as the power of capitalism over the press remains—a power which becomes the more distinct, the more sharp, and the more cynical, the more that democracy and the republican regime are developed, as, for example, in America. To obtain real equality and real democracy for the toiling masses, for the workers and peasants, one must first take away from the capitalists the power to hire journalists for their service, to buy publishing plants and to bribe newspapers. And for this it is necessary to shake off the yoke of capitalism, to overthrow the exploiters and to crush their resistance. The capitalists have always labeled as "freedom" the freedom of profits for the rich, and the freedom for the workers to die of hunger. The capitalists label as "freedom of the press" the freedom for the rich to bribe the press, the freedom for the rich to manufacture and falsify so-called public opinion. The defenders of "pure democracy" show themselves again in reality the defenders of this filthy and prostitute system of the rule of the rich over the means of enlightenment of the masses, as swindlers of the people, who, with fine-sounding but with through-and-through ly-

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ing phrases, lead away from the concrete historical task of the emancipation of the press from capital. Such a real freedom and equality will be the social order which the Communists are building and in which there will be no possibility for any to enrich themselves at the expense of others, no objective possibility directly or indirectly to subject the press to the power of money; where nothing will prevent the workers (or a small or large group of workers) from having and realizing their equal right to the use of the printing plants and paper belonging to society.

9. The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries showed us long before the war what this famous "pure democracy" really signifies. The Marxists have always asserted that the more developed, the more "pure" democracy is, the more open, the more sharp, the more merciless becomes the class struggle, the more plainly the pressure of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is shown. The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the bloody clashes of the capitalists' armed hirelings with the striking workers in the free and democratic republic of America—these and thousands of similar facts disclose the truth which the bourgeoisie seeks in vain to cover up, namely, that in the most democratic republics the terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie rule in reality and come out openly whenever the power of capital seems to the exploiters to be shaken.

10. The imperialist war of 1914-18 disclosed once and for all even to the backward workers the true character of bourgeois democracy, even in the freest republic, as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In order to enrich the German and English groups of millionaires and billionaires, dozens of millions of men were murdered and the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was installed in the freest republics. This military dictatorship continues to exist in the lands of the Entente even after the overthrow of Germany. The war has opened the eyes of the workers more than anything else, has torn off the false veil of bourgeois democracy, and shown the people the whole of abyss of speculation and greed during the war and incidental to it. The bourgeoisie waged this war in the name of freedom and equality. In the name of freedom and equality the war contractors enriched themselves unbelievably. No efforts of the Yellow Berne International will be able to hide from the masses the now finally exposed exploiters' character of bourgeois freedom, bourgeois equality, and bourgeois democracy.

11. In the most developed capitalist land of the continent of

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Europe, namely, in Germany, the first months of full republican freedom which were brought by the overthrow of imperialist Germany have shown the German workers and the whole world the real class content of the bourgeois democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are events of world-wide historical significance not only because the best persons and leaders of the really proletarian Communist International have been tragically put to death, but also because the class character of the most highly developed capitalist European state (and one can also say without exaggeration, the first in the whole world) has been disclosed with finality. If arrested people, that is, people taken under the protection of the state power, could be murdered unavenged by officers and capitalists under a government of social-patriots, it is clear that the democratic republic in which such a thing could happen is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. People who express their indignation over the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, but who do not understand this truth, show thereby only their own stupidity or hypocrisy. In one of the freest and most progressive republics in the world, in the German republic, there exists the "freedom" to kill the arrested leaders of the proletariat without punishment. And that cannot be otherwise as long as capitalism maintains itself, since the development of democracy does not weaken the class struggle which at the present time, as a result of and under the influence of the war and its consequences, has reached the boiling point, but instead sharpens it.

In the whole civilized world, deportations, persecutions, and imprisonment of the Bolsheviks are taking place, as, for example, in one of the freest bourgeois republics, in Switzerland; further, in America where pogroms against the Bolsheviks, and so on, are taking place. From the viewpoint of "democracy in general" or "pure democracy" it is simply laughable that progressive, civilized, democratic countries, armed to the teeth, are afraid of the presence of a few dozen people from backward, hungry, ruined Russia that is characterized as savage and criminal in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers. It is clear that the social situation which can create such a shrieking contradiction is in reality a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

12. Under such a condition of affairs the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only fully justified, as a means to the overthrow of the exploiters and to the suppression of their resistance, but is also absolutely essential for the entire masses of toilers as the sole

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protection against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which brought about the war and which is preparing new wars.

What the Socialists completely fail to understand and what shows their theoretical shortsightedness, their dependence on bourgeois prejudices, their political treachery to the proletariat, is, that in capitalist society, with the sharpening of the class struggle which lies at its foundations, there can be no middle ground between dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and dictatorship of the proletariat. Any dream of a third possibility is a reactionary lamentation of a petty bourgeois. The experience of more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy and of the labor movement in all advanced countries and in particular the experience of the last five years bears witness to this. The whole teaching of national economy bears witness to this—the whole content of Marxism, which lays down the economic necessity of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie under any form of commodity economy, the dictatorship which can be overthrown only by the class which, through the very development of capitalism itself, continually develops itself, increases in numbers, tightens its ranks, and becomes ever stronger.

13. The second theoretical and political error of the Socialists consists in the fact that they do not understand that the forms of democracy inevitably, in the course of thousands of years, beginning with its germs in the ancient past, are changed with the replacing of one ruling class by another. In the republics of ancient Greece, in the cities of the Middle Ages, in the advanced capitalist states, democracy has different forms and a different extent. It would be the greatest absurdity to imagine that the most profound revolution in the history of humanity, the first transition of the power from the hands of the minority, the exploiters, into the hands of the majority, the exploited, could take place within the frame of the old bourgeois parliamentary democracy, without the greatest overturn, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions, new conditions for their use.

14. The dictatorship of the proletariat resembles the dictatorship of other classes in that, like all other dictatorships, it is brought about by the necessity to suppress by force the resistance of the class which has lost its political power. The basic difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the other classes—the dictatorship of the big land-owners in the Middle Ages, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all civilized capitalist countries—consists in the fact that the dictatorship of the big land-owners and of the bourgeoisie was a violent suppression of the

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resistance of the overwhelming majority of the population, namely, the working masses. In contradistinction to this, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a violent suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, that is, the pronounced minority of the population, the big land-owners and the capitalists.

From this we see again that the dictatorship of the proletariat, generally speaking, must not only inevitably bring with it a transformation of the forms and institutions of democracy, but also that such a transformation results in an extension of the actual use of democracy by the toiling classes that were enslaved under capitalism, on a scale never before seen in the world.

And truly the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has already been actually worked out, that is, by the Soviet government in Russia, the soviet system in Germany, the shop stewards' committees and other analogous soviet institutions in other countries—all these realize and make available for the toiling classes, that is, for the overwhelming majority of the population, the actual possibility of using democratic rights and freedom as never before, even approximately, in the best democratic bourgeois republics.

The essence of the Soviet government consists in the fact that the mass organizations of just those classes which were oppressed by the capitalists, that is, the workers and semi-proletarians (the peasants who exploit no other labor and who are constantly forced to sell at least a part of their own labor) are the permanent and sole foundation of the whole state power, of the whole state apparatus. Just those masses—which, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, where they are equal according to law, are in reality through thousands of different methods and tricks kept out of participation in political life and prevented from using their democratic rights and freedoms—are now drawn into permanent, unhindered, and in addition decisive participation in the democratic rulership of the state.

15. The equality of citizens without regard to sex, religion, race, or nationality, which bourgeois democracy has always and everywhere promised, but never carried out, and which as the result of the rule of capitalism it cannot carry out, has been realized once and for all by the Soviet government or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. For only the government of the workers who are not interested in private property in the means of production and in a struggle for its division and re-division, is in a position to do this.

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16. The old, that is bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, was so organized that it was exactly the working classes who were kept furthest away from the ruling apparatus. The Soviet government, that is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, on the other hand, is so organized that it brings the working classes closer to the ruling apparatus. The same aim is served by the unification of the legislative and executive powers in the soviet organization of the state, and the substitution of territorial electoral districts by production units, such as workshops and factories.

17. The army was an apparatus of suppression, not only under the monarchy; it remained such in all the bourgeois, even the most democratic, republics also. Only the Soviet government, as the one permanent state organization of the classes which were oppressed under capitalism, is in a position to free the army from the bourgeois officers' rule and really to merge the proletariat with the army, really to carry through the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie without which the victory of Socialism is impossible.

18. The Soviet organization of the state is directed towards giving the proletariat, as the class which became most concentrated and enlightened as a result of capitalism, the leading role. The experience of all revolutions and all movements of enslaved classes, the experience of the Socialist world movement, teaches us that only the proletariat is in a position to unite the scattered and backward strata of the toiling and exploited population and to lead them.

19. Only the Soviet organization of the state is in position once and for all completely to destroy the old, that is the bourgeois, apparatus of officials and courts, which remained in existence under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which had to remain since it was in reality the greatest hindrance for the workers and toiling masses to carry out democracy. The Paris Commune took the first world historical step along this path. The Soviet government has taken the second.

20. The annihilation of the state power is the goal which all Socialists have set themselves, among them and at their head, Marx. Without the realization of this aim real democracy, that is, equality and freedom, cannot be attained. To this goal, however, only the Soviet government or proletarian democracy can lead, for it begins immediately to prepare the death of all such state organizations by bringing the mass organizations of the toil-

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ing people into permanent and unconditional participation in the government.

21. The complete bankruptcy of the Socialists who assembled in Berne, their complete lack of understanding of the new, that is, the proletarian democracy, can be seen especially from the following: on February 10, 1919, Branting declared the International Conference of the Yellow International closed. On February 11, 1919, its participants in Berlin published in the newspaper *Freiheit* an appeal of the Independents to the proletariat. In this appeal the bourgeois character of the Scheidemann government is admitted and it is reproached with trying to do away with the Soviets which are called "the bearers and defenders of the revolution," and the proposal is made to legalize the Soviets, to give them state rights, to give them the right to veto the decisions of the National Assembly and to turn over all matters handled in them to a referendum.

Such a proposition discloses the complete mental bankruptcy of the theoreticians who defend democracy and who have not understood its bourgeois character. The laughable attempt to unite the Soviet system, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the National Assembly, that is the dictatorship of the bourgeois, discloses with finality the mental poverty of the yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats and the reactionary policy of the petty bourgeoisie as well as their timid concessions to the irresistibly growing forces of the new, proletarian democracy.

22. The majority of the Yellow International in Berlin, which condemns Bolshevism but which, for fear of the working masses, did not dare formally to vote on a corresponding resolution, dealt correctly from the class viewpoint. It is exactly this majority that is in complete solidarity with the Russian Mensheviki, the Social-Revolutionaries, and the Scheidemanns in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries, who complain of their persecution by the Bolsheviks, make great efforts to conceal the fact that these persecutions were brought about as a result of the participation of the Mensheviki and the Social-Revolutionaries in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In the same way the Scheidemanns and their party in Germany have already taken part in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie against the workers.

It is therefore quite natural that the majority of the participants at the Berne Congress of the Yellow International spoke for condemnation of the Bolsheviki. This, however, was not an expres-

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sion of defense of "pure democracy," but the self-defense of people who feel that they are on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat in the civil war. On these grounds we must consider the decision of the majority of the Yellow International as completely correct from the class viewpoint. The proletariat, however, must not fear the truth but look it straight in the face and draw from it all the necessary political conclusions.

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Two Letters on the Paris Commune

By KARL MARX

(EDITOR'S NOTE: During the existence of the Paris Commune (March 18—May 28, 1871) Marx wrote to his friend Kugelman two letters which will forever remain literary landmarks in revolutionary theory and practice. In editing a Russian translation of the collection of Marx's letters to Kugelman, Lenin calls special attention to these letters written during the beginning of that great struggle for power on the part of the Paris workers who were "ready to storm the heavens" (Marx). Lenin refers particularly to the first letter, written only three weeks after the struggle started. "On April 12, 1871, Marx wrote an enthusiastic letter to Kugelman," writes Lenin, "a letter that we would like to see hanging on the wall in the home of every Russian Social-Democrat, every literate Russian worker."

We reprint these letters on the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian dictatorship.)

I.

April 12, 1871

DEAR Kugelman:

. . . If you will turn to the last chapter of the 18th Brumaire you will see that according to my opinion the next revolutionary uprising in France will be an attempt to destroy the bureaucratic military machine instead of handing it over from one group to the other as was done previously. Such indeed is the preliminary condition of every genuinely popular revolution on the continent. This is exactly the attempt of our heroic Paris comrades. What dexterity, what historical initiative, what ability for self-sacrifice these Parisians display. After six months of starvation and destruction caused more by internal treachery than by the foreign enemy, they rise under Prussian bayonets as though there were no war between France and Germany, as though the enemy wasn't still at the gates of Paris. History records no such example of heroism. If they will be defeated it will be because of their "magnanimity." They should have immediately marched on Versailles, as soon as Viny and the reactionary portion of the Paris National Guard escaped from Paris. The opportune moment was missed on account of "conscientiousness." They did not want to start a civil war, as if the monstrosity Thiers hadn't already begun it with his attempt to disarm Paris.

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The second mistake: The Central Committee (of the National Guard.—Ed.) relinquished its powers too soon to pass them on to the Commune. Again on account of "honesty" carried to suspicion. Be it as it may, this Paris uprising even if it will be suppressed by the wolves, swine, and dirty dogs of the old order, is the most glorious achievement of our party since the June uprising. Compare these Parisians, ready to storm the heavens, with hangers-on of the German-Prussian holy Roman empire with its antediluvian mascarades, reeking with the smell of the barracks, church, junkerdom, and especially philistinism.

Your K. M.

II.

April 17, 1871

. . . I cannot understand how you can compare the petty-bourgeois demonstrations *a la* June 13, 1849, etc., with the present struggle in Paris.*

To create world history would be, of course, easy if the struggle would be waged only under absolutely favorable circumstances. On the other hand; history would be very mystical, if "circumstances" would not play a role in it.

These circumstances enter, of course, as part of the general course of development, balanced by other circumstances. But the acceleration and retardation greatly depend upon these "circumstances," among which will be found even such a "circumstance" as the character of the people who at the beginning stand at the head of the movement.

The decisive unfavorable circumstances must be sought, not in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of Prussians at the very gates of Paris. This the bourgeois scoundrels of Versailles knew. That is why they put before the Parisians the alternative: either to accept the provoked struggle or to capitulate without a fight. The demoralization of the working class which would ensue as a result of the second instance would be a greater misfortune than the loss of any number of leaders. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and the state representing its interests, has, thanks to the Paris Commune, entered a new phase. However it may end this time, a new landmark of universal historical significance has been achieved just the same.

K. M.

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*On June 13, 1849 a demonstration took place in Paris called in protest against the overthrow of the Republic of Rome by the French military. The demonstration was easily dispersed and proved the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois revolutionary democracy in France.—*Ed.*

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Outline for Discussion on the Agrarian Question

LESSON II.

1. *What are some of the principal errors and falsehoods put out by the capitalists, the reformists, or those opportunists who fall into reformist position on the agrarian question?*

Answer: (a) That the increase or maintenance in number of small farm holdings means that such holdings are on an economically sound basis. The truth is that any such evidence implies a general worsening of living conditions for the mass.

(b) That in agriculture there is a "ladder of success," whereby the farm wage worker becomes a small farmer, usually a renter, then an owner, and finally a large and well-to-do owner, himself employing labor. This is joined usually with the theory that mortgage debts assumed by farmers are effective in aiding them to climb the "ladder of success." The truth is that only for a very few does there exist a "ladder of success," and the growing proportion of mortgage debt to the total of farm capital shows clearly that mortgages are one of the principal channels whereby finance capital subjects farm capital to it and extracts profit from agriculture without itself directly engaging in production. That is, it shows the purely parasitic nature of finance capital in agriculture.

(c) That finance capital or capitalism in general has "little to do" with agriculture because of the dispersed and anarchic character of the industry with millions of farmers having some measure of capital each also working. This tends to conceal class differentiation behind confusing terms of "working farmers" or "dirt farmers," and conceals the growth of capitalism to dominance over pre-capitalist forms of exploitation in agriculture. The truth is that capitalist penetration of agriculture, after the era of free land was gone, has proceeded with growing rapidity: (1) On the basis of private property in land, taking profit by means of rent and mortgage; (2) Upon exploitation, often indirectly, of labor, finance capital extracting profits without direct exploitation but by means of control of marketing of farm products as also by monopoly prices of what the farmer buys. Thus the small producer who was self-sufficing and independent of the market, has become a commodity producer, a commercial farmer, producing commodities for

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the market and wholly dependent on capitalist—ultimately finance capitalist—control of the market.

(d) That capitalist penetration of agriculture is progressive," an idea based upon the mistake that the measure of capital invested is paralleled by and proceeds upon the basis of the measure of mechanization. The fact is that the essentially monopolistic character of private property inland, upon which rent and the price of land (capitalized rent) are based, together with debts and interest on debts, are a reactionary obstacle even to capitalist production, and rents and debts are parasitic. This parasitic role of capital exceeds its progressive function as a factor developing mechanization, i.e., debts grow faster than mechanization.

(e) That "large scale" farming or mechanized "corporation farming" is "driving the small farmers off the land," "depopulating the farm regions," and is attaining the same success as the Soviet farms. This is the idea of the Muste group and Lovestone. By contending that the small farmer and middle farmer is "disappearing," the task of winning them for revolutionary allies by fighting for their interests is also made to disappear. The fact is that while some are, of course, driven off the farm, the principal effect of even a small measure of mechanization, is the worsening of conditions for the whole lower farm strata, wage workers, small and middle farmers. This is through causing them excessive labor, more debt burden, poorer stock, insufficient fertilizer, and a widespread stagnation of technique. But great masses stay on the land, enduring this for years and decades, becoming ever more degraded.

In essence, this view holds that under capitalism a socialized agriculture can be built equal to that of the Soviet Union under proletarian dictatorship—that capitalism can organize itself—or furnish, by so-called "technical revolution" the technical basis for Socialism. In this connection we quote the following from the "Draft Resolution of the Political Secretariat of the ECCI on the Situation and Tasks of the CPUSA," September, 1930:

> "The Party was correct in combatting the theory of the 'technical revolution' in agriculture, according to which 'tremendous developments of corporation farming' are taking place, as the form of an 'extreme acceleration of the concentration of capital in agriculture.' *At the present period* the parasitic *features of the role of finance capital in agriculture have greatly increased*. . . . The development of corporation farming proceeds in the main upon the basis of marketing monopolies, but slowly, being obstructed among many factors, first of all by the limitations of private property in land, and by the fact that agriculture is most sharply affected by the basic contradiction of the capitalist system of production, by the tremendous gap between growing production and limitation of consump-

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> tion of the millions of toiling masses to the lowest possible level, as well as by the contradiction between the decreasing markets and the increase of production accompanying large scale farming."

The Program of the Communist International adopted by the Sixth World Congress says (Sec. 1, Part 1):

> "In the domain of agriculture which, owing to the existence of the monopoly in land and absolute rent, must inevitably lag behind the general rate of developmet, this law (of concentration and centralization of capital) not only found expression in the process of differentiation that took place among the peasantry and in the proletarianization of broad strata of the latter, but also and mainly in the open and concealed subordination of small peasant economy to the domination of big capital; small farming has been able to maintain a nominal independence only at the price of extreme intensification of labor and systematic under-consumption."

2. *What are some of the facts showing the restriction of capitalist relations on agriculture, making for contradictions, antagonisms, class differentiation, and discontent?* (Figures given as for 1925 if not otherwise stated.)

Answer: (a) There are 924,000,000 acres in farm land, only 525,000,000 of this is improved; only 365,000,000 of this is in crops. Yet millions of workers and farm poor go hungry while the Farm Board demands a reduction of acreage because there is an "overwhelming food surplus." (Quotation from O. E. Baker, of the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

b) There are 6,371,640 farmers (1925) but books are written saying that there are 2,000,000 "too many farmers."

(c) Though there are 6,000,000 separate farm holdings, on January 1, 1930, there were estimated to be only 900,000 tractors in use on American farms. The International Harvester Co. admits that tractors will not pay on farms using less than four horses. Thus mechanical power is out of reach to small and many middle farmers. Also, on farms having tractors, they are not used to capacity in the majority of cases as on Soviet farms where they are used day and night on great acreage. Only on *exceptional* farms in the United States are they used to full.

(d) Showing the general degeneration in technique, under conditions of capitalist crisis, although the number of tractors in use increased from 246,139 in January, 1920, to 506,745 in January, 1925, the total value of machinery in use decreased from $3,594,722,000 to $2,691,703,000 in same time, while the number of farm horses decreased from 19,848,000 in 1920, with an average

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value $96.52, to 13,440,000 in 1930, with an average value of $70.71 each. The total value of livestock decreased from $8,012,876,069 in 1920, to $4,858,389,124 in 1925.

(e) Although there were 506,745 tractors in use on farms in 1925, these were restricted to only 437,850 farms (among 6,371,640) showing that while some few had more than one tractor, the vast majority had none. In 1920, the value of machinery per acre was shown to be $2.60 for share-croppers, while full owners had $8.30 worth of machinery per acre.

(f) With the passing of free land, monopoly of land increases the role of landlordism; the percentage of renters to the total number of farmers having increased steadily from 25.6 per cent in 1880 to 38.6 per cent in 1925. The Department of Agriculture notes that in 1927 a total of $1,042,000,000 was paid in rent to non-operators.

(g) The growth of parasitic finance capital, even before the beginning of the agrarian crisis in 1920, is shown by the increase in percentage of mortgaged owners to all owners, from 27.8 per cent in 1890 to 37.2 per cent in 1920. Mortgage debt alone increased from $3,200,000,000 in 1910, to $8,500,000,000 in 1925. In the same time total debts, which include personal debts, grew from $4,700,000,000 to $12,250,000,000. It is estimated that the total farm debt has now reached about $20,000,000,000. Coincident with the growth of debt, under the crisis in agriculture—which began in 1920—the total value of farms, including land, buildings, machinery and stock, fell off, from 1920 to 1925, from $77,923,651,599, to $57,017,740,040. Land value fell from $54,829,563,059 to $37,721,018,222. Cash income from sales of farm products fell from $12,832,000,000 in 1920, to $9,949,000,000 in 1929. With the onset of the general crisis, preliminary estimates are that farm income for 1930 was 13 per cent below 1929.

3. *What is the purpose of the proletariat in seizing power, in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, as regards its class attitude toward the farm population in the transition period from capitalism to Communism?*

Answer: (From Program of CI, Sixth Congress)—

> "It deprives its class enemies of political rights and, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role as leader.
>
> ". . . It inscribes on its banner the motto: The proletariat holdss power *not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose*

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". . . It inscribes on its banner the motto: The proletariat holds power *not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose of protecting narrow craft and professional interests,* but for the purpose of uniting the backward and scattered rural proletariat, the semi-proletariat, and the toiling peasants still more closely with the more progressive strata of the workers, for the purpose of gradually and systematically overcoming class division altogether. Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under leadership of the proletariat, the Soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers, into the struggle for Socialism, into the work of building up Socialism and the practical administration of the state."

4. *What are the tasks in agriculture that will be specifically the work of the proletarian dictatorship in the period of transition?*

Answer: (Program of CI, Sixth Congress, Section 4, Part 3, Para. "B"):

"(a) The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery, and other land) and the transferance of state and municipal landed property, including forestry, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets, with subsequent nationalization of the whole of the land.

"(b) The confiscation of all property utilized in production belonging to large landed estates, such as: buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, etc.).

"(c) The transfer of large estates, particularly model estates and those of considerable economic importance, to the management of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviet farm organizations.

"(d) Part of the land confiscated from the landlords and others—particularly where the land was cultivated by the peasants on a tenant basis and served as a means of holding the peasantry in economic bondage—to be transferred to the use of the peasantry (to the poor and partly also to the middle strata of the peasantry). The amount of land to be so transferred to be determined by economic expediency as well as by the degree of necessity to neutralize the peasantry and to win them over to the side of the proletariat; this amount must necessarily vary according to the different circumstances.

"(e) Prohibition of buying and selling of land, as a means of preserving the land for the peasantry and preventing it passing into the hands of capitalists, land speculators, etc. Offenders against this law to be severely prosecuted.

"(f) To combat usury. All transactions entailing terms of bondage to be annulled. All debts of the exploited strata of the peasantry to be annulled. The poorest stratum of the peasantry to be relieved from taxation, etc.

"(g) Comprehensive state measures for developing the productive forces of agriculture; the development of rural electrification; the manufacture of quality seeds and raising thoroughbred stock on Soviet farms; the extensive organization of agricultural credits for land reclamation, etc.

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"(h) Financial and other support for agricultural cooperation and for all forms of collective production in the rural districts (cooperative societies, communes, etc.). Systematic propaganda in favor of peasant cooperation (selling, credit, and supply cooperative societies) to be based on the mass activity of the peasants themselves; propaganda in favor of the transition to large-scale agricultural production which—owing to the undoubted technical and economic advantages of large-scale production—provide the greatest immediate economic gain and also a method of transition to Socialism most accessible to the broad masses of the toiling peasants."

5. *While we see that the socialization of agriculture and nationalization of the land is the task of the proletarian dictatorship after the seizure of power, can we raise these tasks as demands or slogans of action in the struggle for power?*

Answer: No. They serve as propaganda slogans for the future building of Socialism. Our slogans of action must center on the immediate and quite comprehensible needs of the poor and middle farmers (primarily, of course, the agricultural proletariat), which can be used for rallying mass action of these strata against finance capital, for demands which weaken capitalism and that do not contradict but coincide with the struggle of the proletariat. It is theoretically possible that at least partial nationalization of land may be carried out by capitalism for its own benefit; namely, nationalization of land does not exclude capitalist exploitation on such land. So, also, with farmer cooperation, under capitalism, it is the big capitalist class which finances such enterprises and takes its robber toll; under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian state finances such cooperation and makes it a progressive function, whereas the role of finance capital is purely parasitic and reactionary in that it restrains the growth of productive forces.

6. *How can we determine those immediate demands of the small and middle farmers which weaken capitalism and do not contradict but coincide with the struggle of the proletariat?*

Answer: It is of great importance because of the widely varying conditions in different sections of the United States, to examine each such section, to determine what such demands are in the given instance, upon which the poor and middle farmers may be mobilized for struggle, demands for which they will make a fight. It is the struggle itself which is of supreme importance, because by struggle the mass becomes conscious of the proletariat as an ally, of the bourgeois government and agrarian reformists as enemies, and is finally convinced of the necessity for alliance with the proletariat for revolution. At the same time that we, as Communists, stress for ourselves the importance of the struggle, we must make every effort to aid actual victory for the demands.

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7. *Is there an organization for farmers, non-Party but under Party guidance, in the United States, whose program and organization our Party supports, just as we support the TUUL for wage workers, including farm wage workers?*

Answer: Yes. The United Farmers League, with headquarters at New York Mills, Minnesota. Secretary, Rudolph Harju. Its program, in brief: Reduced rents, with special demands against the slave condition of share-croppers—right to garden and small stock, no peonage agreements forcing buying or selling through landlord; reduced taxes; a moratorium on farm debts; special emergency relief and general loan and crop insurance fund raised by tax on rich and administered by farmers; lower freight rates for farmers and lower prices on farm-used necessities such as machinery.

8. *What organizational methods are used?*

Answer: Formation of Committees of Action or Tenants' League, by township, locality or county (There must be no rigidity on form or name, to allow initiative by the mass to rally around complaints they feel most keenly, so long as the content of action weakens capitalism, directly or indirectly). Such Committees or Leagues should be urged—but not forced— to affiliate with the United Farmers League, even by loose connection. Their actions should be spread just as strikes are, and get full support and guidance from the city proletariat.

Methods of struggle are chiefly: Mass tenant strikes; taxpayers' strikes; moratorium on debts, not by capitalist law, but by mass refusal to pay debts or interest, with mass prevention of evictions or seizures of crops or goods; demonstrations at county seat or other points; protest demonstration and consumers' boycott against monopoly prices for implements, fertilizers, power, seeds, water for irrigation, etc.

Against bourgeois-controlled organizations, where they contain poor and middle farmers, the United Farmers League works to win them away to itself, both by outside and inner organized opposition movements.

9. *What primary, elemental tasks does the Party set for our immediate carrying out?*

Answer: The establishment of the *United Farmer* as a mass paper, obtaining all contacts possible, building up around the paper Committees of Action or Tenants' Leagues.

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10. *How can the lower units of the Party carry this out?*

Answer: Throughout the country, every unit accessible to farmers must assign some part of its members to go into the country on Sundays or off-days to determine the special peculiarities of the local type of farming, the needs of the poor farmers, to carry the program of organization and action of the United Farmers League, get them to write to the *United Farmer* and subscribe to it, sending all contacts to the U. F. L., and reporting results to higher units.

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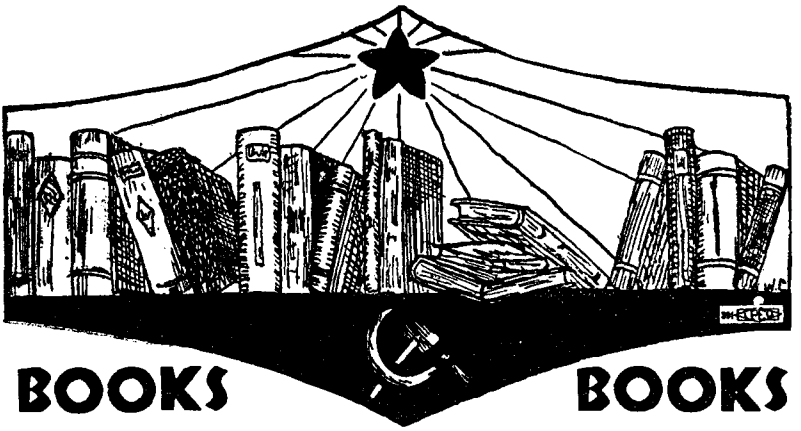

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

Labor and Lumber. CHARLOTTE TODES. New York, International Publishers, 1930. 208 p. $1.00.

Reviewed by E. BERT

In her recent volume, *Labor and Lumber*, Charlotte Todes has brought the story of the class struggle in United States industry to the woods and lumber-mills of the Northwest and the South. This is one of the Labor and Industry series prepared by the Labor Research Association and published by International Publishers. Other volumes in the series cover the development and the capitalist structure of the textile, coal, automobile, and silk industries and the development of the class struggle in these industries.

The present volume comprises a detailed description of the growth and forms of capitalist control in the lumber indusrty. This description includes the monopoly control of the entire industry, the significance of the small mills that expropriate what is left after the large operators have cut through the timber, the over-capacity of the industry, the search for foreign markets, the raising of tariffs to keep the home market for the domestic lumber monopolists, and the participation of the lumber bosses in the attack on the Soviet Union with the slogan of "convict labor" in the manufacture of Soviet pulpwood. On the labor side of the lumber industry, the book reveals less than subsistence wages for the majority of the lumber workers, a murderous speed-up with the resultant bloody accident toll, the company blacklists to weed out the militant workers and break the rest,the seasonal unemployment to which the lumber workers are subject just as a matter of course, and the horrible mass unemployment which they are now suffering as a result of the present crisis. These lumber workers have for decades put up a militant fight against the inhuman conditions which are a part of the capitalist control of industry.

Everett, Spokane, Centralia, Graybow, Bogalusa, are among the historic battlegrounds in the class struggle of the lumber workers. The author describes the misleadership of the A. F. of L., the early militancy and later impotency of the I. W. W., the narrow craft unions which have arisen in the struggle, the attempts at widening the struggle to cover the entire in-

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dustry, and points to the organization of the National Lumber Workers Industrial Union, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, as the only means for leading the struggle of the lumber workers along class lines with a militant program. Affiliation of the new union with the TUUL gives it the support of the revolutionary unions in the United States and of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The attack of the bosses has followed the same lines as in other industries, splitting the ranks of the workers by an especial attack on the Negro workers and on the foreign workers, pitting workers with families against single workers, and instituting welfare schemes to cover up the hideous barbarism of the industry with welfare slogans and contests. *Labor and Lumber* as well as the other volumes gives us a detailed report of capitalist exploitation and of the development of capitalist industry and capitalist contradictions. These reports can become of very real value to the revolutionary movement if they are used systematically in our schools and study groups. Here are monopoly, capitalist rationalization, capitalist contradictions, misleadership by the labor lieutenants of the bosses, not as phrases without hands or feet of flesh, but as realities with all the life in them that detailed description can lend. And in this series we have very significant chapters in the history of the class struggle in the United States which must be brought to the workers of this country as a part of their revolutionary heritage, their class heritage. These books should be on the reading list of every worker engaged in the class struggle. The greatest possibilities of these volumes are in their systematic use in the education of the new cadres of the vanguard of the working class in Workers' Schools and study groups. The wealth of factual material which the volumes contain must be studied, evaluated, and used by the revolutionary vanguard in carrying on the class struggle.

CHALLENGE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Challenge of Russia. SHERWOOD EDDY. New York: Farrar & Rinehar. 1931. p.p. 278.

Reviewed by N. SPARKS

The average liberal, should he see the whole world united under the Red Flag, and the last vestige of capitalism being swept off the earth, would still hide away in some corner and mumble to himself about the Soviet "*experiment.*" The reason why they cling to this word is clear: an experiment *may* succeed, but, thank god! it can fail also. And so, despite the fact that no one spoke of the "capitalist experiment" a hundred years ago, despite the existence of the Soviet government as a *fact* of 13 years' standing, despite the fact that it grows stronger and more secure while capitalism admittedly becomes weaker and more shaky, liberals like Sherwood Eddy still cling to their phrase about the Soviet "*experiment.*" Nothing would please these liberals better than to be able to write sympathetic phrases on the tombstone of the Soviet "experiment."

This book pretends to be impartial. But wherein does its impartiality consist? In openly standing on the side of capitalism, accepting all its hypocrisy at face value (unemployment, starvation, slums and lynching are merely "disquieting features"), in using the words "democracy" and "freedom" interchangeably with "capitalism," and then in condemning the Soviet Union for everything in which it differs from "our" beloved system of "democracy and freedom." "The system of dictatorship and revolution," Eddy finds, "does not appeal to "educated" "cultured" "freemen."

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In those chapters where he describes the achievements of the Soviet Union, the author gives, in general, a fairly straight account. But does a "liberal" deserve special credit for merely writing what even the columns of the New York *Times* are forced to print, and for telling the facts only when the workers know them aleady and have already responded to them with a tremendous movement of sympathy?

But it is in the chapters attacking Communism and the Soviet Union that Eddy puts real feeling into his work. (So much so, that he even comes right down to New York and sides with Mayor Walker and Norman Thomas in the beating up of Comrade Nessin, and with the Civil Liberties Union in refusing further bail to Communist prisoners.) His arguments are the familiar tripe about "dictatorship" and the G. P. U., which have been answered time and again by everyone from Lenin down. Eddy's viewpoint is clear: the troubles of the few thousand ex-aristocrats who will do anything except honest work are more important to him than the miseries of the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and colonial slaves whose lives used to be crushed by capitalism.

But nothing can beat the hypocrisy of the chapter on religion. Here, to the detriment of Communism, he contrasts the actual *facts* of the Communist movement in Russia with the *unrealized, insincere Utopian ideals* of christianity! Thus under Communism, "class hate"; under christianity, "the authorized motivation of love alone!" Capitalist police clubs of the christian government are more convincing of the real terrorist nature of this "love alone" than all the fine words of pious preachers. Here the shameless quackery of this Y. M. C. A. author stands out in full bloom! Under Communism, "the individual is suppressed"; under christianity he is "a child of God of infinite worth"! How many "children of god of infinite worth" are starving to death in America today for lack of a finite few dollars of unemployment relief! In the Soviet Union the worker may not feel so infinite, but at least, he eats regularly.

The character of this book is clear. Its pretense at impartiality (if such a thing could exist) must be ripped away, and it must be classed as an attack on the Soviet Union. However, despite the fact that liberals are dangerous, they have a genius for making themselves at the same time ridiculous. After describing the gigantic achievements of the Soviet Union and the chaos which is breaking down the structure of world capitalism, after touching on the war preparations of capitalism, and the readiness of the Soviet workers to defend themselves, after setting the stage for the inevitable clash between two titans, Eddy says there are some who will have neither "unjust capitalism nor tyrannical Communism," and comes forward with—the program of the Musteites!

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Communist, published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1931.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marie Reiss, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the Communist, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Communist Party, U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street. Editor, Max Bedacht, 50 East 13th Street. Managing Editor, None. Business Manager, Marie Reiss, P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York City.

2. That the owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amunt of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, certain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other judiciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock,, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

MARIE REISS, *Business Manager.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1931.

MAX KITZES, *Notary Public.*

(My commission expires March 30, 1932).

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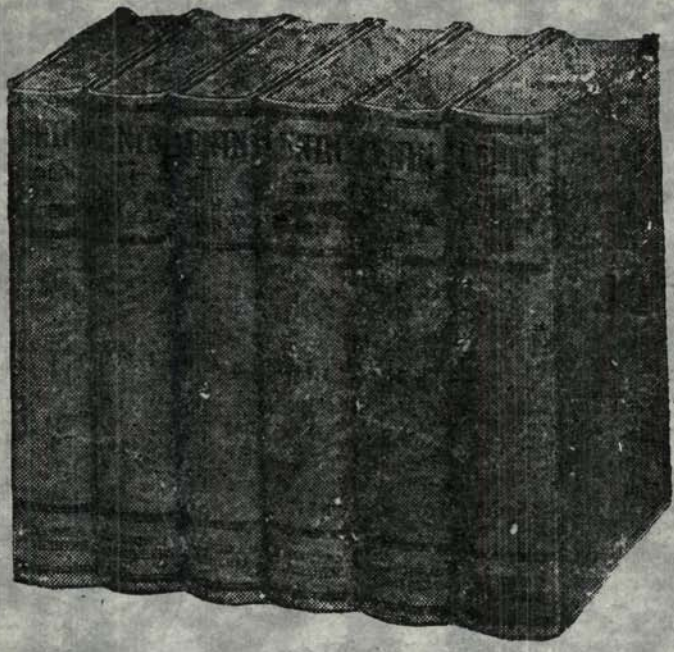

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